

THE ROMANCE TRADITION IN
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FICTION:
A STUDY OF SMOLLETT

By
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The modern critical concern with and celebration of the development of the realistic novel unfortunately hampers an evaluation of eighteenth-century fiction on its own merits. The twentieth century's disillusionment with the values and form of romance has been allowed to shape disproportionately most critical approaches to eighteenth-century fiction into the traditional "rise of realism" formula. Through an examination of Tobias Smollett's fiction in particular and eighteenth-century fiction in general, this study suggests that the best fiction of the age was steeped in the romance, and can be understood best through the conventions and intentions of the romance.

Chapter One demonstrates: that romance enjoyed an enduring popularity throughout the eighteenth century; that an aesthetic urge toward realism was a long-standing

critical emphasis well before the rise of the novel in the eighteenth century, and consequently question the novel and realism equation; and that the commitment of fiction to the authentic reporting of human experience and the individual apprehension of reality was not as pervasive in the eighteenth century as has been proposed.

Based upon a survey of the conventions and intentions of romance since the Greeks, Chapter Two defines the romance tradition in eighteenth-century England in terms of plot, structure, and world view. The design and texture of romance plot is characterized as: the narration of a hero's successful progression through a series of adventures usually motivated and rewarded by love; the testing pattern of involved complications and delaying entanglements; the movement toward satisfaction marked by fortuitous events over expansive settings; and the final total resolution with virtue rewarded and vice punished. As Order in Variety, romance structure involves interpolations, digressions, and conscious attention to authorial design as it imitates an idealized ordered universe. The romance presents a world view that reflects a pattern of order, a providential design, and a providential justice characteristic of a coherent Christian vision.

Chapter Three documents that in the fiction of Tobias Smollett there is a tangible presence of the intentions and conventions of the romance tradition. While

recognizing other viable traditions, the inquiry into Roderick Random, Peregrine Pickle, Ferdinand Count Fathom, Sir Launcelot Greaves, and Humphry Clinker suggests an observable trend in the use of romance conventions and intentions that indicates that Smollett emerges as part of the movement to rather than the culmination of the movement to the novelistic conceptions of fiction.

Roderick Random seems most evenly divided in its reflection of various traditions. The picaresque and satire are significant influences in the shaping of the 1748 work's plot and intentions. Clearly the romance tradition cannot be seen to dominate. It is as if Smollett had been introduced to a variety of traditions and had yet to decide his favorite. However, with the writing of Peregrine Pickle, Ferdinand Count Fathom, and Sir Launcelot Greaves, the favorite becomes more and more clear-cut. In terms of plot, structure, and world view, the romance tradition is dominant. The only apparent lessening of its dominance is in the occasional satire and humor. Peregrine Pickle represents Smollett's most expansive use of the romance tradition; Ferdinand Count Fathom represents the most explicit; and Sir Launcelot Greaves represents the most compact. With the publication of Humphry Clinker, there seems to be a shift in Smollett's use of the romance tradition. Interests in the comic exploitation of romance conventions, in the raw experience of life, and in the

empirical exploration of individuals receive increasing emphasis.

INTRODUCTION

In surveying critical commentary dealing with the English novel, one apparently axiomatic assumption consistently asserts itself: the "growth," "development," "advancement," or "evolution" of English prose fiction is inextricably related to the rise of realism and the passing of romance. As John J. Richetti has pointed out, literary historians are for the most part simply content to document a critical distinction by "recording with a kind of neo-Hegelian confidence the historical progress from the factually careless and improbable fictions called romances to the mimetically sensitive stories called novels."¹ Twentieth-century critics have presented the history of prose fiction as the ultimate victory of an enlightened realism over reactionary romance and the development or evolution of a superior literary mode.

This modern critical concern with and celebration of the development of the realistic novel unfortunately hampers an evaluation of eighteenth-century fiction on its own merits. Arguing that "fiction aims now at an intensification of reality rather than an escape from the actual," critics such as Pelham Edgar and F. R. Leavis often find little of importance in eighteenth-century novelists other than that they anticipate the "great

tradition" of those who, like Jane Austen, George Eliot, Henry James, and Joseph Conrad, were aware of the possibilities of life.²

As an early Victorian novelist presenting his critical conception of the novel, William Makepeace Thackeray reflects this restrictive approach as he summarizes nineteenth-century attitudes toward eighteenth-century fiction and suggests what was to be inherited as the early twentieth century's view. The notion that the best eighteenth-century novelists represented a rise of realism and a reaction against romantic fiction is characteristic of Thackeray's expectation that the novel should be an historical record of the manners of a particular time, encompassing all levels of society in an objective and consistent method of treatment. Thackeray asserts that "the Art of Novels is to represent Nature: to convey as strongly as possible the sentiment of reality";³ hence his partiality for some eighteenth-century fiction is clearly based on what he sees as the author's disdain for the frivolous and his proportionate devotion to realism. This is particularly apparent in his use of Fielding and Smollett to call for greater social realism and objectivity and to attack the unnatural and sensationalistic Newgate and Silver Fork novels.

I am sure that a man who, a hundred years hence, should sit down to write the history of our time, would do wrong to put that great contemporary history of "Pickwick" aside as a frivolous work. It

contains true character under false names; and, like "Roderick Random" an inferior work, and "Tom Jones" (one that is immeasurably superior), gives us a better idea of the state and ways of the people, than one could gather from any more pompous or authentic histories.⁴

His compliments for the previous century's realistic fiction contrast vividly with his castigation of contemporary novels as improbable, inaccurate, and unnatural. Thackeray believed the great accomplishment of the eighteenth-century novel was its endorsement of "reality against the romance." Thackeray's belief clearly represents an idea which emerged in the nineteenth century that fiction had developed from romance to realism one hundred years earlier.⁵

Early twentieth-century thinking about the novel and its eighteenth-century development solidified the polar approach incipient in Thackeray. A survey of twentieth-century critical histories of English fiction might begin with the distressing remarks of Sidney Lanier. Proposing in his eighth Johns Hopkins lecture of "Historical Retrospect of English Fiction," Lanier turns from "the many-petalled rose of George Eliot's fiction to the beginning of the English novel" and finds "the unsavory muck in which its roots are embedded."⁶ Unfortunately, this attitude is not uncommon to the innumerable literary histories that followed; and even more prevalent is Lanier's hypothesis that the advent of the modern novel was based almost wholly on a "revolutionary departure from the wild and complex romances" (p. 176). This departure from ex-

travagant romance represents Lanier's only explanation on how the "rose" was able to rise from the "muck."

In 1906, Francis H. Stoddard's The Evolution of the English Novel marked the "birth" day of the novel:

For there came a day when wild stories of the adventures of knights, and kings, and princes; when tales of unreal characters, unreal scenes, unreal emotions; when tales of adventure, in lands far away, under circumstances impossible, and with help of enchantment, and magic, and super-human assistance, -- there came a day when the tale of all these external, far-off, glorious unrealities passed away, and in its place came the simple story of the emotion of a simple, homely, struggling soul; the story of a Pamela, or a Marianne, of a Manon Lescaut, of a Joseph Andrews, of a Clarissa Harlowe.⁷

To Stoddard, this movement from the romance of chivalry to the depiction of objective reality was the first step in the evolution of the novel, an evolution based on an underlying "law of tendency" in literature that art evolves in the progress from external embellishment to inner life (p. 12). According to Stoddard, for the modern novel to attain its superior achievement, it had to begin from the expression of the external form, from the consideration of external characteristics, from the suggestion of external remedies for evils and rewards for endeavor in order to progress to the sophisticated expression of abstract thought, the consideration of internal character, and the study of causal relationships (p. 13). The middle years of the eighteenth century with its desire for realism represent the novel's beginning from the external em-

bellishment of fiction's earlier representations.

Primarily interested in the eighteenth-century novel, Charles H. Huffman is more sympathetic toward the century and its literature than either Lanier or Stoddard. Nevertheless, his The Eighteenth-Century Novel in Theory and Practice exhibits essentially the same views concerning the rise of the novel and its connection with a realistic tendency. Huffman conceives of eighteenth-century prose fiction as "a new kind of writing; new not only in form, but in content as well."⁸ Seen as a denouncement of the romance, this "new kind of writing" was based theoretically on the following principles of realism:

I. The piece should profess and disclose a moral purpose, as against a purely fictitious narrative designed solely for entertainment. II. The characters, the conversations, the situation, and the incidents should have their basis in human nature; should evolve from a close study of real life -- of contemporary English life -- as against the far-off unknown people of distant lands, and ancient times. III. Reason and common sense should predominate as always, as against mythic reality, the highly imaginative, and the purely fanciful. IV. The plot, the persons, and the machinery of the piece should come well within the bounds of probability, and easily within the range of credibility, thereby dismissing the absurd and marvelous of ancient romance. (p. 27)

In addition to these principles, Huffman categorically asserts that from Richardson onward "the realistic tendency never ceased" and that the new novel owed its origin and subsequent development largely to the reaction of English thought against all that was manifestly incredible and to the growing genuine respect for truth in art (p. 42).

Following Huffman's approach to eighteenth-century fiction, historians of the full range of English prose fiction began more and more to structure their surveys on a realism-romance dichotomy. In 1925, Wilbur L. Cross entitled the first two chapters in his The Development of the English Novel "From Arthurian Romance to Richardson" and "The Eighteenth-Century Realists."⁹ The principle of action-reaction provides for Cross evidence that the struggling and misdirected literary form of romance passed eventually into a well defined form, the realistic novel. The third volume of Ernest Baker's monumental The History of the English Novel, "The Later Romances and the Establishment of Realism," perpetuates the same assumption that the eighteenth-century novelist found the romances to be old-fashioned and ridiculous because of their improbability, and therefore submitted to the overwhelming force of realism.¹⁰ Baker believes that the first half of the eighteenth century marks a great epoch in the history of the novel because its writers recognized that their business was with life as it is and accordingly implemented the techniques of realism. With its sense of the actual and its circumstantial method, realism theoretically settled fiction into its own proper sphere and established the novel as an independent art form (p. 277).

The quarter century following Baker demonstrated no perceptible change in this approach to the progress

of prose fiction in the eighteenth century. Arnold Kettle, for example, posing the rhetorical questions of "why were the first novels written" and "why did the modern novel arise at all" provides the traditional answers that the romance was no longer acceptable to the writers and readers of the eighteenth century and that the eighteenth century marked an historical development away from romance toward the novel.¹¹ Specifically, Kettle theorizes the novel arose "as a realistic reaction to the medieval romance and its courtly descendants of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries"; "with the growth for the first time of a large, widely-distributed reading public"; as "an art-form written by and for the now-powerful commercial bourgeoisie"; and as a sociological necessity "that the bourgeoisie, in order to win its freedom from the feudal order, had to tear the veil of romance from the face of feudalism" (pp. 30-37).

A decade later, Lionel Stevenson in his The English Novel: a Panorama declines even to explain the supposed philosophic shift behind the "rise of realism." Approaching his panorama chronologically, Stevenson assigns "Romance, Allegory, and Scandal" (Chapter II) to the seventeenth century and "The Discovery of Realism" (Chapter III) to the first half of the eighteenth century.¹² Subsequent chapter titles, "The First Masterpieces" (Chapter IV) and "Establishing the Tradition" (Chapter V), reflect

the importance Stevenson attaches to the discarding of romance and the significance of realism as the "vital stage in the process by which the novel came to birth" (p. 78). The new medium of realism allowed the emergence of fiction as a form of art. Unlike the romance, it did not handicap prose fiction with traditional literary genres that resulted in an incompatibility between material and form. With realism, "a more sensible era was setting in" (p. 54).

Ian Watt's The Rise of the Novel, though published three years before Stevenson and followed by a number of critical histories on the novel, may be seen as a compendium of this type of criticism because of its widespread acceptance and influence. Watt suggests that the rise of prose fiction coincides with a great evolutionary shift in social structure from hierarchy to individualism, when in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England, religion moved from church to conscience, and "reality" moved from ideas to items, from the general to the specific, from Plato to Locke. Accordingly, when the daily life of the ordinary individual became a new focus of interest, the novel became the new voice of everyday reality.¹³ For Watt, as for his predecessors and successors, "realism" is the primary characteristic which differentiates eighteenth-century prose fiction from its predecessors (p. 10). This realism is critical, anti-traditional, and innovative. It manifests itself in the novel as a philosophical asser-

tion that the pursuit of truth is wholly a matter of the individual apprehension of reality as opposed to older notions of received or revealed truths of universal applicability. The particular, the circumstantial, and the original replace the general, the formal, and the conventional. Watt sees the novel in general as partaking in a rejection of traditional plots for causal structures; as the use of individualized characters; and as the employment of a referential rather than a rhetorical medium. For Watt,

. . . the novel is a full and authentic report of human experience, and is therefore under an obligation to satisfy its reader with such details of the story as the individuality of the actors concerned, the particulars of the times and places of their actions, details which are presented through a more largely referential use of language than is common in other literary forms. (p. 32)

These premises establish the novel as the narrative embodiment of a formal realism that Watt attributes to eighteenth-century novelists such as Defoe and Richardson.

The most recent decade of criticism does not indicate any marked divergence from the now traditional assumption that the rise of the novel is directly related to the rise of realism and the passing of romance in the eighteenth century. Ronald Paulson's approach, for example, in Satire and the Novel in Eighteenth-Century England is only superficially different from what had come before. Paulson develops an evolutionary history of prose fiction that traces the eclipse of satire by the novel; however, he

assigns to the desire for realism the impetus for this eclipse, and also finds realism the common ground between the two forms.¹⁴ Their mutual realism, according to Paulson, is based upon two preferences: a preference for ordinary experience over the world of romance and a preference for the illusion of a literary work that attempts to disguise itself as literature over a literary self-consciousness in the conventions of romance. Thus the novel developed: "If the novel as it emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has any generic aim at all, it is a commitment to the presentation of reality -- not moral truth but the truth of actual experience -- and the avoidance of convention and artifice."¹⁵

As suggested by the above brief survey, from the turn of the century to the present, the critical approach to the history of English prose fiction is fundamentally the same. Seen as breaking with the old-fashioned romance and its association with a heritage of universals, formal conventions, and the emblematic, the novel in the eighteenth century, it has been argued, reflects a transformation in world views, embodying essentially "a developing but unplanned aggregate of particular individuals having particular experiences at particular times and at particular places."¹⁶ Theoretically, this increasing commitment to realism by the writers of prose fiction in the eighteenth century resulted in their eventual separation

from the classical and medieval heritage of artistic and philosophical universals which had permeated fiction (romance) up to that time. Unencumbered, prose fiction was able thereafter to rise in the eighteenth century and to proceed to respectability and maturity as the modern novel.

In their zeal to connect eighteenth-century fiction and the modern novel and therefore to indicate merit through association, historians of fiction have limited their approach to, and therefore their conception of, eighteenth-century fiction. The critical concentration on the rise of realism insinuates that students of the English novel have assumed that to trace antecedents of the modern novel and to write on early fiction are the same thing.¹⁷

I propose to question the validity of the following twentieth-century commonplaces about eighteenth-century fiction: 1. that the eighteenth century was the turning point in the historical development away from romance toward the novel; 2. the rise of the novel in the eighteenth century was made possible because the romance was no longer acceptable; and 3. that the rise of realism in the eighteenth century was primarily responsible for both the historical and aesthetic development away from romance. In order to question these assertions, I propose, in turn, to demonstrate: 1. that romance enjoyed an enduring popularity throughout the eighteenth century; 2. that an aes-

thetic urge toward realism was a long-standing critical emphasis well before the rise of the novel in the eighteenth century, and consequently argue that to equate the novel and realism is questionable; and 3. that the commitment of fiction to the authentic reporting of human experience and the individual apprehension of reality was not as pervasive in the eighteenth century as has been proposed. Contrary to the assumption that the rise of the novel took place over the corpse of romance, I hope to demonstrate through an examination of Smollett's fiction, though it is true of all the major novelists of the century, that the best fiction of the age was steeped in the romance, and can be understood best through the conventions and intentions of the romance.

NOTES

¹John J. Richetti, Popular Fiction Before Richardson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 1-2.

²Pelham Edgar, The Art of the Novel: From 1700 to the Present Time (New York: Russell and Russell, 1933; rpt. 1965), pp. 41-45; F. R. Leavis, The Great Tradition (New York: New York University Press, 1963), pp. 1-28.

³The Letters and Private Papers of William Makepeace Thackeray, ed. Gordon N. Ray (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1945), II, 772.

⁴The Works of William Makepeace Thackeray, ed. Lady Ritchie (London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1911), XXII, 99.

⁵"Review of Jack Sheppard," Fraser's Magazine, XXI (1839), 227-45.

⁶The English Novel: A Study in the Development of Personality (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1903), pp. 175-176.

⁷The Evolution of the English Novel (New York: Macmillan, 1906), pp. 41-42.

⁸The Eighteenth-Century Novel in Theory and Practice (Dayton, Virginia: Ruebush-Kieffer, 1920), p. 26. It is interesting that Huffman insists on a "moral purpose" within his demands for realism; the existence of a "moral purpose" in romance is one of its distinguishing characteristics.

⁹The Development of the English Novel (New York: Macmillan, 1925). The significance of Cross's position is apparent when one notes that his influence in the study of eighteenth-century fiction was solidified by his important biographies of two of its most important practitioners, Fielding and Sterne.

¹⁰The History of the English Novel (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1929), III, 129.

¹¹An Introduction to the English Novel (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1951), pp. 27-40.

¹²The English Novel: a Panorama (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960).

¹³The Rise of the Novel (London: Chatto and Windus, 1957), pp. 35-59.

¹⁴Satire and the Novel in Eighteenth-Century England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), pp. 3-51. Another representative example of the most recent critical trends is Ioan Williams' introduction to Novel and Romance, 1700-1800: A Documentary Record (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1970) which uses the now familiar decline of heroic romance and rise of realistic novel pattern to structure an approach to the history of eighteenth-century prose fiction.

¹⁵Paulson, p. 11. Paulson presents an interesting contradiction of Huffman's insistence upon "moral purpose." See note 8.

¹⁶Watt, p. 31.

¹⁷Richard Davis, Idea and Action in Elizabethan Fiction (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 1.

CHAPTER I

I. THE ENDURING "DISEASE" OF ROMANCE

Any critical theory based upon the assertion that the eighteenth century rejected the romance requires re-examination. To promulgate the theory that a new desire for realism led to a turning away from the seventeenth-century romance tradition is to deny the overwhelming evidence to the contrary found in the publication history of, and the critical commentary on, romance in the eighteenth century. It is to bury the corpse before a proper autopsy is performed; in this case, the critics seem to have buried their victim while it was still alive and well.

A perusal of Arundell Esdaile's A List of English Tales and Prose Romances Printed Before 1740 and the British Museum's General Catalogue of Printed Books reveals much evidence of the general popularity of romance throughout eighteenth-century England. Although the most prolific period of publication for the medieval romance was from 1660 to 1720, Esdaile's list and the British Museum's catalogue document a considerable popularity for medieval romances well beyond 1720.¹ The publication records of Guy, Earl of Warwick, The Seven Champions of Christendom, Valentine and Orson, and Bevis of Hampton, for example,

all disclose a widespread popularity in the eighteenth century of medieval romance literature. New editions of Bevis of Hampton were published at regular intervals throughout the century (1700, 1750, 1775, 1780). The British Museum has fourteen separate editions of Valentine and Orson that were published between 1700 and 1800 in England. With as many editions apparently appearing in the second half of the century (1769, 1780, 1790, 1795, 1800, 1800) as did in the first (1700, 1710, 1724, 1736, 1741, 1749), there is every indication that the popularity of this particular romance, at least, did not flag as the century progressed. Printers published The Seven Champions of Christendom twelve times between 1705 and 1790. Guy, Earl of Warwick is another of a number of romances from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that continued to be published and to find appreciative readers in the eighteenth century.² The British Museum's catalogue lists eleven different editions between 1706 and 1800. There is evidence, then, that medieval romances enjoyed throughout the eighteenth century an enduring popularity which rivaled their reception in previous centuries.

Records documenting the persistence of Renaissance romance publication during the eighteenth century further substantiate that the life signs for romance were still vital. The popularity of many Elizabethan tales such as Arcadia, Parismus, the renowned Prince of Bohemia, Monte-

lion, Knight of the Oracle, and Pandosto, or Dorastus and Fawnia was unbroken through the eighteenth century; they were all frequently adapted to contemporary idiom, abridged, or published as chap-books. The British Museum's General Catalogue of Printed Books records adaptations of Sidney's Arcadia for the years 1701, 1710, 1715, 1726, 1750, 1760, 1770, and 1788. Emanuel Ford's Montelion, Knight of the Oracle was published at least seven times between 1700 and 1809, with three editions following the 1750 issue. His Parismus, the renowned Prince of Bohemia appeared in at least eight editions in the eighteenth century. The demand for Robert Greene's Pandosto, or Dorastus and Fawnia lasted well into the eighteenth century when it was republished as late as 1764.³ The catalogues of chap-books advertised by Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brooks (circa 1750) and by Cluer Dicey and Richard Marshall (1764) provide further evidence that the Renaissance romances like those of Ford and Greene were still very popular in eighteenth-century England.⁴

Recognized as dominant in the mid-seventeenth-century production of prose fiction, the French heroic romance exhibits a publication history that reflects its contagious popularity beyond the English Restoration or the last years of Louis XIV. Regnaud de Segrais's Zayde, a Spanish history or romance, according to the British Museum's holdings, apparently was successful in both French

and English editions. Providing the upper class English audience an opportunity to read this 1671 romance in its original language, at least five editions of Zayde were published in French between 1700 and 1764. Eighteenth-century English translations of Segrais's most popular romance appeared in the 1722 and 1729 issues of Samuel Croxall's Select Collection of Novels and Romances and in the 1777 and 1780 issues of Mrs. Elizabeth Griffiths' A Collection of Novels. Another translation of a popular French heroic romance that the British Museum's General Catalogue lists as being in all editions of the Croxall and Griffiths collections is Marie Madeleine Motier, Countess de la Fayette's The Princess of Cleves. As well as the 1679 and 1688 English translations, the British Museum has five eighteenth-century French editions of The Princess of Cleves. Marin le Roy, Sieur de Gomberville's Polexandre was translated and published in eighteenth-century England several times.⁵ Another example is Gautier de Costes de la Calprenede's Cassandra. At least three English editions appeared in the eighteenth century (1703, 1725, 1737).⁶

The overwhelming success of François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon's The Adventures of Telemachus (1699) provides an additional basis for the suspicion that the popularity of romance was more widespread in the eighteenth century than is currently assumed. There are twenty-eight eighteenth-century English renditions of

Fénelon's The Adventures of Telemachus in the British Museum; twenty-one of them were printed in the second half of the century. In order to warrant the publication of a single work so many times within relatively short periods of time (often twice a year; usually once every two years), there must have been a significant public demand to engage profit-minded publishers and booksellers in such a costly business venture so many times. It does not seem unreasonable to conclude that the appeal of The Adventures of Telemachus is perhaps symptomatic of the eighteenth century's overall delight in the disease of romance.

To fully diagnose the symptoms of the eighteenth century's delight in romance, one should recognize other possibilities for contracting and satisfying the affection for romance literature besides enumerating the obvious inundation of materials by profit-minded publishers. For example, the popularity of French heroic romances in eighteenth-century England cannot be measured solely by the tabulation of English editions printed in that century. First, a tabulation of translated editions does not consider that, in all probability, the French romances were well-known before the English versions appeared. There are grounds to argue that as many prided themselves upon reading the original during the eighteenth century as did in the previous century.⁷

Second, modern critics repeatedly state "that the

long-lived popularity in England of the Romances by La Calprenede and Mademoiselle de Scudery was simply amazing."⁸ In comparison to other French, medieval, Renaissance, and seventeenth-century romances, the publication of d'Urfe's L'Astree, La Calprenede's Cassandre, Cleopatre, and Faramond, and Scudery's Ibrahim, or the Illustrious Bassa, Clelie, Almahide; or the Captive Queen, Amaryllis to Tityrus, and Artamene or the Grand Cyrus was uncharacteristically meager. Despite the apparent paucity of published editions, these same romances were still widely read in the middle and late eighteenth century. Whether romances were passed on from generation to generation, given as personal gifts, or loaned from personal libraries, considerable testimony disclosing the breadth of these romances can be found in the correspondence and autobiographies of the not-so-famous as well as the famous.

The eighteenth-century printer Thomas Gent (1693-1778) alludes to the popularity in 1715 of Cassandre, a celebrated romance in the early years of his autobiography.⁹ Writing to Mrs. Martha Blount, Alexander Pope devotes an entire letter to the usual practice of reading romances, while notifying her that he had sent to her the five volumes of Scudery's The Grand Cyrus.¹⁰ In a letter to Philip Dormer Stanhope, the Earl of Chesterfield refers to "three celebrated Romances" (Grand Cyrus, Clelie, Cleopatre) when he counsels his illegitimate son in 1740 about proper read-

ing materials.¹¹ In a number of letters in 1743 and 1746, H. S. Conway cites Cleopatre as the kind of old romance that Horace Walpole knew by heart.¹² Among the other romances that Walpole supposedly owned and loved, Conway lists The Grand Cyrus, Cassandre, Zayde, and The Princess of Cleves. The undistinguished novelist and commonplace playwright Thomas Holcroft (1745-1809) recalls in the autobiographical chapters of his Life that during his youth in the 1750's the romances were "as familiar to me as my catechism, or the daily prayers I repeated kneeling before my father."¹³

The popularity of romance literature in the eighteenth century is also reflected in its influence upon the other forms of literature. Besides the ballads, opera, and chap-books, an outstanding illustration is the sentimental comedy and heroic drama of the century. The mere titles are sufficient indication of their source of inspiration: Dryden's Secret-Love, or the Maiden Queen (Le Grand Cyrus), Lee's The Rival Queens, or the Death of Alexander the Great (Cassandre) and Theodosius, or the Force of Love (Pharamond), and Banks' The Rival Kings, or the Loves of Orondates and Statira (Cassandre). Many comic writers drew their plots, characters, and much of their style from these same romances: for example, Farquhar's The Constant Couple (1700), Gay's The Beggar's Opera (1728), and Sheridan's The Rivals (1775).

For seventeenth-century England, the translating and reading of medieval, Renaissance, and French heroic romances were not sufficient for a society so enamoured of romances. The composing of original English romances became a fashionable and profitable pastime for English writers who produced an ever increasing volume of a variety of new romances. Whether these romances were imitations of the French, Italian, or Spanish, or whether they were written by a struggling hack-writer or an aspiring noble apparently made no difference to the extent of their popularity or influence.

These English romances burst upon the seventeenth-century market in all sizes, models, interests, and levels of achievement almost unceasingly throughout the period. Charlotte Morgan's "Chronological List of the Prose Fiction First Printed in England between 1600 and 1740" and William Harlin McBurney's A Check List of English Prose Fiction, 1700-1739 provide comprehensive documentation of the volume and variety of seventeenth-century English romances published in these years, as well as the diversity of foreign romances that were imported to satisfy what must have been an equally sizeable demand.¹⁴ Some of the English romances are: Barclay his Argenis: or, the Loves of Poliarchus and Argenis (1625); John Reynolds' The Flower of Fidelitie (1650); Cloria and Narcissus (1653); Roger Boyle's Parthenissa, the Famed Romance (1654); Nathaniel

Ingelo's Bentivolio and Urania (1660); Sir George Mackenzie's Aretina, or, the Serious Romance (1660); John Bulteel's Birinthia (1664); John Crowne's Pandion and Amphygenia: or, The History of the Coy Lady of Thessala (1666); Roger Boyle's English Adventures (1676); Robert Boyle's The Martyrdom of Theodora and Didymus (1687); Richard Blackburn's Clitie (1688); Francis Quarles' The Unfortunate Lovers: the History of Argalus and Parthenia (1701); and Celenia: or, the hystory of Heyempsal, king of Numidea (1736).

Although many English romances like Boyle's Parthenissa and Ingelo's Bentivolio and Urania were frequently reprinted during the seventeenth century, fewer were reproduced in the eighteenth century. The 1772 edition of Barclay's Argenis, the ninth edition of Reynolds' The Flower of Fidelitie in 1735, and the eleven renditions of Cynthia; with the Tragical Loves of Almerin and Desdemonia between 1687 and 1760, while sound evidence of the continuing popularity of romance, apparently represent exceptions to the pattern of publication for the seventeenth-century English romances. The catalogues of Esdaile, Morgan, McBurney, and the British Museum suggest the predominant republication of these romances was before 1700.

There is other evidence, however, which suggests that seventeenth-century English romances were popular well into the eighteenth and even early nineteenth century.

In 1834, William Henry Miller (1789-1848), a solicitor and a member of the House of Commons, began collecting books that were to become the library of Britwell Court, Buckinghamshire.¹⁵ The short-title catalogue of this library isolates another symptom of the romance's popularity. It gives some indication of the esteem held for English romances written nearly a century before Miller began collecting his library. There are four editions listed in the Britwell Handlist of Barclay's Argenis, three of Quarles' Argalus and Parthenia, and two of Cloria and Narcissus and Ingelo's Bentivolio and Urania. Single copies of some of the more famous romances were also in this private collection: Reynolds' The Flower of Fidelitie, Braithwaite's Panthalia, Bulteel's Birinthia, Boyle's The Martyrdom of Theodora and of Didymus, and Blackburn's Clitie. The presence of even the lesser known romances such as Robert Baron's The Cyprian Academy (1648), Rowland Carleton's The Italian Princess (1681), and Eliana, A New Romance formed by an English hand (1661) on the Britwell Handlist perhaps indicates the extent of the interest in these romances and others like them.

William Henry Miller was not unique in his interest in and collection of romance literature for his library. In five volumes arranged alphabetically, The Catalogue of the Huth Library presents a record of fifty years of book collecting which began in the first half of the nineteenth

century.¹⁶ As with the Britwell Handlist, Henry Huth's personally compiled bibliographical descriptions harbor symptoms of an extensive interest in romances with, among other things, a proportionate number of seventeenth-century English romances. Boyle's English Adventures, Bulteel's Birinthia, Reynolds' The Flower of Fidelitie, and Carleton's Diana, Dutchess of Mantua; or, the Persecuted Lover: A Romance are among the more prominent of the numerous seventeenth-century romances listed. Others in the Huth Library which seem to indicate the popularity of these romances are Richard Braithwaite's The Two Lancashire Lovers: or, the Excellent History of Philocles and Doriclea, Panthalia: or, the Royal Romance, and The Life and Death of Rosamond, King Henry the Second's Concubine.

As symptoms of the popularity of romances through the eighteenth century, the libraries of William Henry Miller and Henry Huth are neither unique nor restricted to romances of seventeenth-century England. It seems as if everyone had romances of some kind in his library. In a Catalogue of a Curious and Valuable Collection of Books, Among which are included The Entire Library of the late Reverend and Learned Laurence Sterne (1768), there are medieval, Renaissance, and seventeenth-century romances.¹⁷ The predominant variety, however, is the French romance with such representatives as La Calprenede's Cleopatre,

Fenelon's Telemachus, Le Vayer de Boutigne's Tarsis and Zelig, and La Fontaine's Daphnis et Chloe. Horace Walpole's library also contained a great number and variety of romances. The fourteenth and fifteenth century romances are represented by Amadis de Gaule, The Seven Champions of Christendom, Gesta Romanorum, and Appianus of Alexandria; the Renaissance romances of Sidney, Greene, and Lodge require extensive listing.¹⁸ Walpole possessed complete editions of Marie de la Fayette's, Jean de la Fontaine's, and Vincent de Voiture's works. Individual copies of la Fayette's Princess of Cleves and Princesse de Montpensier and la Fontaine's Daphnis and Chloe are also listed with La Calprenede's Cleopatre and Cassandre, Segrais's Zayde, and Fenelon's Telemachus. The seventeenth-century English contingent of romances is represented by Barclay's Argenis and Baron's The Cyprian Academy, while Guarini's The Faithful Shepherd and Loredano's Diane: an Excellent New Romance are instances of the many European romances (other than the French) that Walpole was able to obtain.

The symptoms of an interest in romances exhibited by the Britwell Handlist are not restricted to the previously discussed seventeenth-century English romances. The catalogue of Miller's library registers numerous editions of a variety of romances from diverse national origins and historical periods. The Britwell Library contains four different editions of Valentine and Orson,

five of Gesta Romanorum and Bevis of Hampton, six of Palmerin of England, and seven of The Seven Champions of Christendom. Of the Renaissance romance writers, the entries of Sidney are outnumbered only by Greene and Lodge. All three of Emanuel Ford's romances (Montelion, Ornatus and Ortesia, Parismus) were owned by Miller in multiple editions.

An Italian edition accompanies Francis Kirkman's and John Shirley's translations of The Honour of Chivalrie; a translation of Jorge de Montemayor's Diana (1598) is tabulated with those of Loredano's and Guarini's romances. The abundance of French romances possessed by Miller even overshadows the volume and variety in Walpole's library. As well as the more celebrated works of Honore d'Urfe (Astree), La Calprenede (Cassandre, Cleopatre, Pharamond) and Madeleine de Scudery (Almahide, Clelie, Ibrahim), there were copies of Boursault's The Prince of Conde, Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin's Ariane, and Pierre d'Ortique de Vaumoriere's The Grand Scipio also apparently held in continued esteem.

The catalogues of libraries collected during and at the end of the eighteenth century suggest other evidence that corroborates the argument that romance literature was not dead. Nearly every library contained copies of books written in the eighteenth century that either imitated or burlesqued romances.

The native English writers' attempts during the Restoration and eighteenth century to take advantage of the earlier romances' popularity provide a publication history that rivals the romances themselves. Reflecting attributes of successful romance literature rather than foreshadowing techniques of prose fiction that were to develop later, such writers as Aphra Behn, Penelope Aubin, Jane Barker, Mary Manley, and Elizabeth Haywood wrote many volumes of prose fiction that were repeatedly published as romances during the first half of the eighteenth century. Aphra Behn must be considered the leader of this essentially feminine movement to exploit, and thereby perpetuate, the romance's popularity. Such efforts as The Fair Jilt: or, the History of Prince Tarquin and Miranda, Love-Letters between a Nobleman and his Sister, The History of Agnes de Castro, Lycidus: or the Lover in Fashion, and Oroonoko: or the Royal Slave which are characteristic of Behn's prose fiction were read long after her death in 1689. The collection of her "histories and novels" had reached eight editions by 1735. As one of more than a score of prose works, her Love-Letters between a Nobleman and his Sister appeared as a ninth edition in 1759 and was still being printed in 1800. Significantly it accompanied The Princess of Cleves and Zayde in Mrs. Griffiths' 1777 and 1780 collection of "novels" and was published in French (1745) and German (1709, 1789).

Penelope Aubin wrote a number of "lives and adventures" stories which were apparently popular. First published in 1721, The Life of Madam de Beaumont, with its encouragement for virtue and confidence in Providence, was still being reprinted in 1741. Having appeared in 1722 and 1730, The Noble Slaves is another work that Mrs. Griffiths collected with the French heroic romances and English romances for further publication in 1777 and 1780. Beginning with the 1715 publication of Exilius: or, the Banish'd Roman. . . A New Romance, Written after the Manner of Telemachus, for the Instruction of Some Ladies of Quality, Jane Barker contributed a number of fictional works which were popular throughout the first half of the century. The Collection of the Entertaining Novels of Mrs. Jane Barker reached a third edition by 1736 and was reprinted in 1743. Mrs. Mary Manley's popularity exceeded her life span by a number of years as nearly every one of her publications went into multiple editions. The Power of Love: in seven novels was reissued twenty-one years after its first 1720 edition; The Secret History of Queen Zarah was printed in 1705, 1711, 1746, and 1749; The New Atalantis achieved eight editions before 1740. From 1719 to 1753, Mrs. Elizabeth Haywood followed the pattern of the seventeenth-century French romances successfully enough to find publishers for more than twenty separate works. A collection of her Secret Histories, Novels, and Poems reached

a fourth edition by 1732. The publication of Mrs. Haywood's individual editions usually resulted in more than a single printing. Love in Excess: or, The Fatal Enquiry came out in six editions by 1725; The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless was printed in 1751 and 1783; The Fruitless Enquiry was selected for Mrs. Griffiths' collection (1777, 1780) ten years after its original publication. Like Mrs. Behn and Manley, Elizabeth Haywood recognized the popularity of this particular variety of romance fiction and was astute enough throughout her career not to tamper with a successful imitative pattern.

Like the feminine imitations of the French romances, the mock-, burlesque-, or anti-romances were a large and heterogeneous group that demonstrates the popularity of romance by the very attention they give to it. The repeated reprintings of mock romances provide another tangible manifestation of a popularity that continued in the eighteenth century. Cervantes' Don Quixote is the most celebrated reaction to romance literature. Popular in Spain and France as well as in England, this burlesque was published in four major translations during the eighteenth century. The British Museum's catalogue lists six editions of Shelton's translation between 1700 and 1740, eleven editions of Motteux's between 1700 and 1803, eight of Jarvis's between 1742 and 1801, and eighteen printings of Smollett's between 1755 and 1803.

The French were most zealous in continuing Cervantes' assault on romances with such writers as Charles Sorel, Antoine Furteriere, Paul Scarron, and Molière. Translated as The Extravagant Shepherd: The Anti-Romance: or, the History of the Shepherd Lysis in 1653, Sorel's Le Berger extravagant (1627) was published in several editions as a burlesque of Astree. Translations of Scarron's most famous anti-romance, Le Roman Comique (1651), were still being reprinted in Great Britain as late as 1780. Often mistaken for Scarron's, Furteriere's Le Roman Bourgeoise (1666) elicited two distinct translations (The Adventures of Covent Garden and Scarron's City Romance) with its attack upon the extremely popular Clelie and The Grand Cyrus. Broadening the scope of the usual mock-romance, Molière takes on the entire genre of heroic romance in Precieuses ridicules (1659). It was as popular as the others appearing in English translation as late as 1762.

Some other anti-romance writers who attained distinction in eighteenth-century England were: Cyrano de Bergerac (Histoire comique des Etats et Emires de la Lune and Histoire comique des Etats et Empires du Soleil), Pierre Carlet de Camblain de Marivaux (Pharsamond), Guillaume Hyacinthe Bougenat (Voyage merveilleux du Prince Feredin dans la Romancie), Count Anthony Hamilton (Histoire de Fleur d'Epine), Perdou de Subligny (La Fausse Clelie), and England's own Mrs. Charlotte Ramsay Lennox (The Female Quixote:

or the Adventures of Arabella). As with a majority of the non-English anti-romances, these works were translated into English after repeated French publication and are frequently listed in catalogues including the libraries of such men as Fielding, Sterne, Gibbon, Walpole, Miller, and Huth. Also included is Mrs. Lennox's quixotic romance which required at least four editions between 1752 and 1810. The Female Quixote was so popular that it reversed a normal pattern by being translated into German (1754) and Spanish (1808).

This cursory survey of the many anti-romances that were published in the eighteenth century argues strongly for a recognition of the romance's popularity. Without the "disease" of romance, there would have been little need for the "cure" of anti-romance. For an audience to appreciate a burlesque, they must be familiar with the object ridiculed. Therefore, to pronounce the demise of romance in the eighteenth century is not only to disregard the symptoms of the romance's publication history and presence in libraries, but also to misread the evidence of the anti-romance's success in the same century.

Vital signs of life for the popularity of romance are also conspicuous in the critical writing about romance that persisted from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. This category of evidence can be subdivided into (1) historical considerations and (2) critical attacks and

defenses of romance. The first subdivision includes the many attempts made to explain the origin of romance fiction and to trace its progress. To believe the assumption that interest in the romance had vanished by the end of the seventeenth century, one need only review the number of major critical studies between 1672 and 1797 that dealt directly with the historical development of the romance form.

In 1672, Pierre Daniel Huet's Sur L'origine des Romans was one of the first of a series of treatises on the romances and their origins to be published.¹⁹ William Wotton's 1694 Reflections Upon Ancient and Modern Learning contains a section on the correlation of the medieval romance with modern love stories and how the historical development of the earlier literary form influenced successive forms. Stephen Lewis's 1715 adaptation and translation of Huet's 1672 treatise was published as The History of Romances. Huet's epistolary-document to Segrais on the origin of prose fiction was modified further in 1720 when it became the preface to Samuel Croxall's Select Collection of Novels and Romances and appeared again in the 1729 edition.

With William Warburton's "Dissertation on the Origin of Books of Chivalry" prefixed to Charles Jarvis's translation of Don Quixote in 1742, the frequency of these critical histories of the romance began to increase. Thomas

Warton the younger produced his first contribution in 1754 with Observations on the Faerie Queene of Spenser. To allow a better understanding of a literary work by understanding its era, Warton endeavored to place himself and his reader in the age of tournaments, knights, and damsels by studying the medieval civilization as well as the representative romance. This work was reprinted in 1762 and in 1807.

Richard Hurd's Letters on Chivalry and Romance was published in 1762. Using an epistolary approach, Hurd attempted to defend the romance element in literature as conducive to the sublime. Historical, philosophical, and aesthetic tendencies from the Middle Ages to his time are discussed within the changing context of romance. Significantly this extensive treatise on the romance was reprinted and expanded in the three-volume edition of Hurd's Moral and Political Dialogues in 1765 and reached its sixth edition in 1788.

In the same year that the original Letters on Chivalry and Romance appeared (1762), Hugh Blair presented a lecture entitled "On Fictitious History" that was printed later in his Lectures on Rhetoric and Poetry. In his lecture, Blair structures his history around the stages of romance writing.

The third volume of Thomas Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry contains an extended essay entitled

"On the Ancient Metrical Romances." Originally appearing in 1765, this essay presents an historical investigation of the metrical romances' origin, a correlation of the romances with succeeding literature, and a catalogue of what Percy thought to be the extant romances. The three-volume work was reissued five more times in the eighteenth century (1766, 1767, 1775, 1790-91, 1794).

The final third of the century shows no signs that this interest in the romance was weakening. Thomas Warton's second contribution was an essay in the first volume of his expansive History of English Poetry (1774). Entitled "Of the Origin of Romantic Fiction in Europe," this critical essay provides an eclectic theory of the romance's origin by inculcating most of the existing theories into his own system. John Richardson's contribution to the historical considerations of romance was prefixed to his two-volume A Dictionary, Persian, Arabic, and English in 1777. Entitled "Dissertation on the Language, Literature, and Manners of the Eastern Nations," this extensive work stresses the Eastern origin of the romance. It was apparently relatively popular because it was issued separately under its original title in the same year the dictionary first appeared and a second edition was published in 1778.

Clara Reeve endeavored to trace the progress of the romance through its stages and variations, to point

out its effect and influence, and to provide a list of the most worthy for reading in her The Progress of Romance (1785). Significantly, she acknowledged her indebtedness to predecessors such as James Beattie's "On Fable and Romance" that appeared in Dissertations Moral and Critical (1783), Paul Henri Mallet's Introduction a L'histoire de Dannemare (1755-6) which Percy translated in 1770, and Susannah Dobson's renditions of The Literary History of the Troubadours (1779) and Memoirs of Ancient Chivalry (1784) by Sainte-Palaye.²⁰ Also listing the work of Thomas Warton and Percy, Mrs. Reeves' survey reflects a breadth of interest in the romance that can, by 1785, cite an extensive background of critical tradition in the historical study of the romance.

John Moore's "A View of the Commencement and Progress of Romance" presents a standard history of the romance and the usual endeavor to explain its origin. As a segment of the introduction to Moore's 1797 edition of Tobias Smollett's works, this essay also weighs the romance against other prose fiction of the early and mid-eighteenth century. Hence Moore's essay not only represents one of the many historical considerations of romance that appeared near the end of the century, but in addition can be seen as an illustration of the critical commentary which constitutes that other group of writings about romances. These, to be sure, often overlap. One implication of them

both, however, remains clear: they both argue clearly that the romance was a current and viable art form.

Straightforward statements of the romance's presence are not unique. Critical pamphlets, prefaces, and related materials are readily available as evidence attesting to the eighteenth century's continual recognition of romance. Very broadly, the critical commentary on romance during the eighteenth century may be classified into attacks on romance and defenses of them. For example, the attacks on romance note with chagrin the continuing popularity of romance and respond by calling for a national amelioration in moral taste. Responding to an enquiry concerning the legality of reading romances, John Dunton advises the 1692 readers of The Athenian Mercury to avoid a literature that excites the pride and softens the brain.²¹ In his 1722 preface to Moll Flanders, Daniel Defoe found the world "taken up of late with Novels and Romance" and seemingly felt compelled to present this work as a "private History to be taken for Genuine."²² An article in the May, 1749, issue of The London Magazine cites "the present reigning taste for Novels and Romances" and describes this taste as "fettering," "foolery," "vulgar," and "a national evil."²³ Another example of the mid-eighteenth-century awareness of the romance's popularity is An Essay on the New Species of Writing founded by Mr. Fielding (1751) which discovered that "the world had been pester'd with

Volumes, commonly known by the Name of Romances, or, Novels, Tales, etc." until Fielding produced his design of Reformation.²⁴

This anonymous critic attributed too much influence to Fielding's reformation. Statements expressing an anxiety over the romance's popularity continued to appear well into the latter part of the century. On May 10, 1753, William Whitehead lamented in The World (XIX) that "the present age is over-run with romances, and yet so strong does the appetite for them continue. . . ." ²⁵ Eight years later in 1761, romances continue to suffer accusations that, because they contain stories of love as a ruling passion, they are dangerous fictions and instruments of debauchery.²⁶ This disease of "growing evil" and corrupting influence called romance was still inflaming periodical critics who reviewed romances in 1753, 1756, 1757, and 1773.²⁷ The Gentleman's Magazine, December 1767, asserts that "it must be a matter of real concern to all considerate minds, to see the youth of both sexes passing so large a part of their time in reading that deluge of familiar romances, which, in this age, our island overflows with."²⁸ In 1773, John and Anna Laetitia Aikin note with some distress the still continuing popular demand for the romance:

Of all the multifarious productions which the efforts of superior genius, or the labours of scholastic industry, have crowded upon the world, none are perused with more insatiable

avidity, or disseminated with more universal applause, than the narrations of feigned events, descriptions of imaginary scenes, and delineations of ideal characters. The celebrity of other authors is confined within very narrow limits.²⁹

Romance was, then, the object (and victim) of critical assaults that were almost uninterrupted for more than a century. The most frequent and severe of these attacks on the romance's continued vogue in the eighteenth century were on moral rather than aesthetic grounds. Romances were attacked because they were thought to be a frivolous waste of time, the presentation of fancy as fact, an allurements to vice, a chaotic representation of life, and generally more concerned with delight than instruction. As with most moralistic attacks on literature, they indicate no success in their endeavors, but only the continuing presence of the phenomenon they attack. They also suggest, perhaps, why writers of romance sought every other possible label for their works, the most popular being, of course, "Histories" and "Life and Adventures" (i.e. biography). Given this climate, it is a grave error to accept these labels as valid generic distinctions; or to accept the disclaimers of authors that they were not romance writers as a matter of fact.

Commentary on romance literature was not restricted to attacks. Also indicating the romance's popularity throughout the eighteenth century, the favorable treatises

usually either reviewed the nature of the romance's form or compared romance with other forms of prose fiction. As one would expect, critical commentary on the romance's form was plentiful when the romance's popularity was at its zenith. Beginning with the translator's "Preface" to the 1703 edition of Cassandre, the eighteenth century's interest in romance was also demonstrated by the numerous attempts to define the form. From Mrs. Manley's 1705 distinction between the old and the modern romances in her "Preface" to The Secret History of Queen Zarah to The Monthly Review's 1761 review of Almorán and Hamet as a drooping romance, innumerable accounts of the romance's nature and responsibility were offered. Critical discussions of romance literature during the first half of the century by men such as John Dennis, Daniel Defoe, and Samuel Johnson are quantitatively balanced by those of the century's second half such as William Whitehead, Horace Walpole, and George Canning.³⁰ Covering a broad chronological spectrum, one may note William Congreve's "Preface" to Incognita (1691) as an illustration of early comparisons of fictional forms and Clara Reeve's "Preface" to The Old English Baron (1778) of the later ones. The middle period features such representatives as Mrs. Haywood's Preface to The Disguis'd Prince (1733), The Monthly Review's March, 1751, review of Peregrine Pickle, or John Hawkesworth's November 18, 1752, article in The Adventurer.

Each example conceives of the romance as a form to be used to measure other forms of fiction such as the novel, or as a literary work to be evaluated as a variation from such genres as the epic or history. Regardless of their critical acumen, it is clear that in a period of acute awareness concerning generic forms these and other critics recognized the existence of the romance as a genre and were conscious of its popularity. I shall depend heavily upon their discussions in reaching some conclusion as to the eighteenth-century definition of romance in Chapter Two.

In view of the evidence, it seems to me dangerous to suggest that the rise of the novel took place over the corpse of romance. If something new was taking place, it was doing so with extreme caution and hesitance, and the older form of the romance was clinging to the public mind with great tenaciousness.

II. THE AESTHETIC URGE TOWARD REALISM

In their attempts to discover the favorable conditions in the literary and social situation that differentiated early eighteenth-century novels from previous fiction, modern critics such as Ernest Baker, Lionel Stevenson, Ronald Paulson, and Ian Watt rely upon attacks on romance to suggest that there had been a new literary urge for realism that led directly to the rise of the novel. Popular periodical writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth cen-

turies such as John Dunton, Charles Gildon, and William Whitehead provide what twentieth-century literary historians believe to be convincing evidence that there occurred a new and decisive commitment to the close correspondence between life and literature in prose fiction soon after the turn of the eighteenth century.³¹ Although disdaining "the invidious suggestion that all previous writers and literary forms pursued the unreal," the first chapter of Ian Watt's The Rise of the Novel does in fact imply this when it begins to construct a working definition of the novel by citing eighteenth-century writers who viewed their work as involving a break with the romances, and by stating that a novelist's primary task is to convey the impression of fidelity to human experience.³²

Watt, as well as the others, assumes that philosophical and literary realism arose with a particular evolutionary shift in the English social structure during the eighteenth century. As a new literary form, the novel represents this new philosophical and literary desire to imitate and portray all the varieties and circumstances of human experience. The novel's process emphasizes realistic particularity. Characters are particular individuals; time and space require a particular locus; style is a production of what purports to be an authentic account of actual experiences. The novel is a "closeness to the texture of daily experience." Thus, for Watt,

the narrative method whereby the novel embodies this circumstantial view of life may be called its formal realism; formal, because the term realism does not here refer to any special literary doctrine or purpose, but only to a set of narrative procedures which are so commonly found together in the novel, and so rarely in other literary genres, that they may be regarded as typical of the form itself. (p. 32)

This formal realism is more than just a feature of the novel form, it is the novel form. Modern historians of fiction have equated the novel and realism.

As with the assertion that the eighteenth century rejected the romance, the equation of realism and the novel requires re-examination. To argue that realism was a new literary urge resulting in and defining a new literary form is to deny overwhelming evidence to the contrary; that the romance in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries consistently endeavored for consonance with the probable, the representative, and the verisimilar; that realism was one of the general critical desiderata of this earlier fiction; and that realism has always been an aim in literature. Considering the extent of this evidence, one must argue that the "realism equals novel" equation is questionable and has been instrumental in distorting most critical approaches to eighteenth-century fiction.

While romance did undoubtedly connote a fabulous approach that evoked accusations of extravagance, exaggeration, and embellishment, in actuality the romance writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries strove for

realism as one of the general critical desiderata of their work. No romance writer admitted to intentionally creating "a perpetual succession of absurdities," "a finish'd Piece of nothing but Chaos and Incoherency," "monsters of the imagination" or "some worthless book."³³ A glance at the titles of, the prefaces to, and the critical commentary on romances published during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reveals that most pretended to historical or biographical writing as they endeavored to establish a reasonable harmony with the ordinary, realistic counterpart of everyday.

Although a vast variety of romances from nearly every era and national origin was published throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England, one notes an extensive similarity in their titles. Many titles reflect the respective writer's, translator's, or publisher's desire to pass his work off as some form of historical document such as a biography or an historical annal. The most Excellent and Famous History of the Most Renowned Knight, Amadis of Greece, and The Gallant History of the Life and Death of that most noble knight, Sir Bevis of Southampton are typical titles of medieval romances. Renaissance romance writers such as Emanuel Ford and Robert Greene followed the pattern of establishing a biographical and historical context by respectively entitling their works The Most Famous, Delectable, and Pleasant History

of Parismus, the Renowned Prince of Bohemia and Pandosto, the Triumph of Time. Wherein is discovered by a pleasant Historie. . . or The pleasant and delightful History of Dorastus, Prince of Sicily, and Fawnia, only daughter and heir of Pandosto, King of Bohemia. Seventeenth-century titles of French romances such as Zayde, A Spanish history, or romance, Pharamond: or, the History of France. A new romance, and The History of Polexander; and of English romances such as Pandion and Amphigenia; or, the History of the Coy Lady of Thessaly, The Unfortunate Lovers: the History of Argalus and Parthenia and Don Carlos; an historical relation of the Life and Death . . . of that Spanish Prince son to Philip II continued to attempt to suggest that factual accounts were enclosed. Mrs. Manley's The Secret History of Queen Zarah and the Zarazians, Penelope Aubin's The Life of Mme. de Beaumont, and the anonymous author's Celenia; or the hystory of Heyempsal, King of Numidier indicate that even such eighteenth-century romances that elicited condemnations of perverting the fair sex "with the chimerical ideas of romantic love" insisted through their titles that they deserved the respect accorded to private and public histories. But the titles of these romances that Watt found so antithetical to formal realism are only external manifestations of a qualitative and quantitative commitment to the appearance of history and the critical establishment of verisimilitude that appeared in

the prefaces to these romances.

Curiously, both eighteenth- and twentieth-century critics who have either attacked or dismissed romances on the basis of their fabulous nature have found it convenient to assign the responsibility for this extravagance to seventeenth-century French romance writers. For example, the anonymous author of An Essay on the New Species of Writing founded by Mr. Fielding (1751) was upset by the English delight in importing the chaos and incoherency of French romances:

France first gave Birth to this strange Monster, and England was proud to import it among the rest of her Neighbour's Follies. A Deluge of Impossibility overflow'd the Press. Nothing was receiv'd with any kind of Applause, that did not appear under the Title of a Romance or Novel; and Common Sense was kick'd out of Doors to make Room for Marvellous Dullness.³⁴

As a representative of the modern view on romance and its relationship to the novel's emergence, Ioan Williams describes romance as a product of seventeenth-century France that in England "was decisively rejected in favour of forms which related more closely to the conditions of ordinary life."³⁵

This attribution of the "Deluge of Impossibility" to the French romances is curious because the theory of romance which accompanied these influential seventeenth-century French romances to England included cardinal critical doctrines requiring probability and the use of an historical background. The prefaces, prologues, and

dedications to the seventeenth-century romances of the popular writers such as Gautier de Costes de la Calprenede and Madeleine de Scudery all insist that "amongst all the rules which are to be observed in the composition of these works, that of true resemblance is without question the most necessary; it is, as it were, the fundamental stone of this building, and but upon which it cannot subsist; without it nothing can move; without it nothing can please."³⁶ Based on this "most necessary" rule, the French romance writers sought vraisemblance (true resemblance) by pursuing more natural action, likely scenes, character propriety, and a just mediocrity of style (constraint against the vulgar or the extravagant). For instance, Scudery insists in the preface to Ibrahim, or the Illustrious Bassa: "I have laboured then never to éloigne myself from it [true resemblance as a rule], and to that purpose I have observed the Manners, Customs, Religions, and Inclinations of People: and to give a more true resemblance to things, I have made the foundations of my work Historical, my principal Personages such as are marked out in the true History of illustrious persons, and the wars effective."³⁷ Calprenede is as adamant in his preface to Faramond (Pharamond) about his adherence to truth:

In effect I can truly say that in the Cassandre and the Cleopatre not only is there nothing contrary to truth, though there may be things beyond truth; but also that there is no passage in which one can convict me of lying, and that through all the cir-

cumstances of the History, I can prove it is as true when I please. I shall add nothing of my own to the matters of importance.³⁸

Both Calprenede and Scudery are typical of French romance writers with their proclaimed dependence upon history as a framework for establishing probability and vraisemblance. These announcements of the use of an historical background provided a means to repudiate any suggestion that they violated the "most necessary" rule by including anything that did not exist or never had existed. Calprenede's introduction to the fourth part of Cassandre shows the desire to exhibit the apparent influence that history had over the romancer's art: "If all the adventures of it [Cassandre] are not equal, and if you find some places in them not so strong, nor so diverting as others; you will be pleased to consider, that my invention has not had an entire liberty, and that it has been rack'd by chronology, by the truth of the History. . . ."³⁹ The association of romances with history (and therefore probability, verisimilitude, and truth) was a commonplace of the French romancer's art.

The author's epistle to Cassandre at the beginning of the third part of Cassandre indicates how pervasive truth's demands were. Asking Cassandre to relay his excuses to Calesta, Calprenede apologizes profusely for taking liberties with truth in his art:

Take care also, if you please, to excuse me to her; and if she thinks it strange, that having kept my self hitherto enough within probability, I take a little liberty in the

description of some particular actions, in that instead of following the manner of writing used by Plutarch, Quintus Curtius, Justin, and other authors, from whom I have drawn the foundation of your History, I make my Heroes march unto the fight, in a way somewhat nearer to that of Homer, Virgil, Tasso, and other writers of that nature, who have beautified the truth with some ornaments, rather more pleasing, than confined to a strict and regular likelihood. . . . but yet without making them remarkable by impossible actions or extravagant inventions. (III. 360)

Rather than a new aesthetic urge, realism to seventeenth-century French romance writers like Marin le Roy (Sieur de Gomberville), Pierre d'Ortiques (Sieur de Vaumoriere), and Armand Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin, as well as Calprenede and Scudery, was a fundamental concept to be borrowed from "those great Geniuses of antiquity." Moreover, considering the importance of probability and history to the theory of romance in France, it is indeed ironic that the dismissal of romance was theoretically on the grounds that it was unrealistic and the product of a nation devoted to extravagance.

French critical emphasis upon a correlation of the romance with what might be reasonably expected to occur in the normal course of human affairs assumes a greater meaning for a study of English fiction when one recognizes that the English theory of romance was almost entirely a product of France.⁴⁰ The English translators of the extremely popular French romances significantly emphasize and reiterate in their prefaces the romance's designed affinity with

truth, history, imitation, and nothing improbable or impossible. P. Porter's dedicatory epistle to his 1678 translation of Regnaud de Segrais's Zayde, A Spanish History ascribes considerable power to this romance: "It is a Romance, but so like a True Story, that your Grace may reap by it the use and profit of a true History."⁴¹ The 1687 dedicatory epistle to Robert Loveday's translation of Calprenede's Cleopatre insists that history and truth are central: "Thou wilt here find History Enameled with Fiction, and truth Drest like a May-Lady who through the gay Disguise of her Flowery Ornaments, does often shew her own Simplicity."⁴² English translators did not deny the creative and artistic faculties of romance writers; they merely wanted to make it clear that the primary ends and means were truth. The translator's preface to Artamene ou le Grand Cyrus (1691) contrasts Scudery with those false romance writers who deceive their readers: "Whereas Monsieur Scudery, a Person of great Understanding, profuse Fancy, and clear Judgment, pursues exactly the Truth of History in most things; and where he deviates a little, 'tis only to accomplish his Particular Worthy, with the Virtues of Many: urging nothing either improbable, or impossible."⁴³ The 1703 translator's preface to Calprenede's Cassandre again testifies that "there is something of the Artist's rich Conceits interwoven with the truth of those Histories, on which it is primarily grounded" and that

"the design is the best that ever was laid on any History, and that this is so upon Plutarch and other Ancient Writers."⁴⁴ Not only did the translators make sure to reiterate the original French author's critical devotion to truth and history, they likewise made a point of establishing a classical precedent for this objective and the method used to obtain it.

The English adaptation of the French requirements for probability and the use of historical background in romances was not restricted to frequent re-emphasis in translators' prefaces. Critical prefaces to native seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century romances clearly indicate a thorough familiarity with and wide acceptance of "realism" as a critical desiderata. Critical discourses prefaced to Parthenissa, A Romance (1655), Bentivolio and Urania (1660), and The Martyrdom of Theodora and of Didymus (1687) were typical as they reproduced what must be considered commonplaces of the romancer's art. In "The Preface" to Parthenissa, A Romance Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, recounts "reading Romances as an invitation to Studdy" and finds the ignorance of them as bad as having never heard of Aristotle or Euclid.⁴⁵ Boyle relates how residence in France led to the reading of romances which in turn gave him a "passionate desire to separate the Truth from the Fixion" (p. Al). It is this passionate desire that shapes his romance. Rejecting the purely fabulous, he

pledges to follow historians, to be entrenched upon or borrowed of truth, and to exhibit a rationality and probability that invites imitation.

In Bentivolio and Urania, Nathaniel Ingelo's "A Preface to the Reader, Concerning the Design of this Book" associates the writing and reading of romances with men such as Homer, Plato, Plutarch, and Horace. In light of these associations Ingelo is sensitive to the negligence "one may perceive in Some Romances of a later date."⁴⁶ He attacks the "grossest indecorums of Invention, as odious misrepresentations of Divinity, unnaturall Descriptions of Human Life, Improper and Profane Allusions to Sacred Things, frequent and palpable Contradictions, Sottish stories, and in short, all the absurdities of wild Imagination" (pp. D1-D2). But the scorn is not upon romance, only those who have blotted and corrupted the chief design of romance. By returning to and continuing to pursue proper elements of romance such as truth, propriety of speech, and resemblance, true romance writers in Ingelo's mind will return to their noble stature:

But some that mean well, and think they are not mistaken in the sense of their proposition, humbly desire that those Excellent Wits would lay their design of Romance deeper than the Shallows of Fancy that so the Reader may not stick upon every Shelf of Fiction, and that the Streams of Wit be made navigable for the Inspiration of such Wisdom as is necessary for our best life. The design to please is then as well accomplished; but not terminating to the surface of Recreation, it is improved into a higher advantage of those nobler faculties which God hath given us. (pp. D3-D4)

To submit truth and probability to the "cunning invlegements of Fancey" is to violate the moral as well as the artistic characteristics of a well formed romance.

Robert Boyle's "account" of the creation of The Martyrdom of Theodora and of Didymus elucidates the romance writer's customary struggle between imagination and truth and the conventional outcome:

. . . I found my self tempted so to enlarge this Story, as that it might be contriv'd into a somewhat voluminous Romance: But upon second thoughts, it appeared incongruous to turn a Martyr into a Nymph or an Amazon; And I consider'd too, that (to omit what else might be objected against that sort of Composures) as true Pearls are Cordials and Antidotes, which counterfeit ones, how fine soever they may appear, are not; so True Examples do arm and fortify the mind far more efficaciously, than Imaginary or Fictitious ones can do. . . .⁴⁷

Citing Livy and Plutarch as his models, Boyle outlines how he used historical sources for the basis of his narrative; how the use of an historical past in a remote region established probability of action; and how his study of the historical facts permitted him to write speeches suitable to the occasion as well as the speaker. Moreover, he informs the reader in some detail that he felt no liberty to feign surprising adventures, to adorn the historical part, or to violate the laws of decency. Boyle's dedication to the victory of true examples is so integral to his conception of the romance that he apologizes for any deviation he feels he has made, such as in subject material (" . . a youthful and heated fancy transported my Pen. . .")

or style (" . . . I was induc'd to allow my self a more fashionable Stile, than would perhaps be suitable to a meer Sermon, or Book of Divinity, because I fear'd, that the Youthful Persons of Quality of both Sexes . . . , would scarce be sufficiently affected by unfortunate Vertue, if the interweaving of passages relating to Beauty and Love, did not help to make the Tragical story, Delightful, and the Excellent Sufferers Piety, Amiable" [pp. A2-A3]).

Eighteenth-century prefaces repeat the commonplaces found in critical introductions to seventeenth-century French romances, English translations, and English romances. Although eighteenth-century romances were published generally as "histories," "travels," and "lives," their prefatory material clearly indicates their source of inspiration. Mary de la Riviere Manley's 1705 preface to The Secret History of Queen Zarah expresses the typical theory which was supposed to serve as the basis for the writing of these fictional histories. By asserting that her "little histories" have replaced the long and extraordinary romances, Mrs. Manley elaborates upon the principles which resulted in her success. Fundamental to her discussion of characters, action, and style is that the "Probability of Truth" should be observed with great care. She advises "Historians": to "give them [characters] Passions, Vertues or Vices, which resemble Humanity; thus all the World will find themselves represented in these Descriptions"; to

"place the Accidents as they Naturally happen, without endeavoring to sweeten them for a greater Credit"; and to "take Notice of the Time and Sense where those Accidents happen'd, that the Reader may not remain long in Suspence."⁴⁸ Regardless of Mrs. Manley's repudiation of romance, her entire discourse echoes seventeenth-century commentary on the artistry of romances with its emphasis on an aesthetic urge toward realism.

The distinction between the critical theories attached to eighteenth-century "secret histories" and the assorted "travels" and "lives" is as indiscernible as the distinction between Mrs. Manley's fiction and the romances she repudiates. For instance, Andrew Ramsay in his preface to the Travels of Cyrus (1727) answers charges of plagiarism, a lack of imagination, and an over rapidity of episodes by asserting that his work is a travel history and that "history simply relates facts as they happen, without endeavoring after the intrigues, speeches, and surprising adventures of romance" (p. vi).⁴⁹ Furthermore he rhetorically argues that "travels cannot surely appear unnatural" (p. vii) and that consequently he "has endeavored so to introduce his ideas as not to transgress the bounds of probability" and "to range each truth in its proper place" (p. v). As a representative of eighteenth-century "lives and adventures" fiction, The Life and entertaining Adventures of Mr. Cleveland, Natural Son of Oliver

Cromwell, Written by Himself (1734-1735) contains a preface which also exhibits a determination to provide an aesthetic foundation based upon what might be reasonably expected to occur in the normal course of human events. After citing the advantages of the study of history, this preface outlines how a private history can instruct through recapitulation of personal experiences and true reported facts. The "editor" and "translator" then establishes the veracity of Mr. Cleveland's particular history by telling how the document came into his hands and how it "agrees in a great many particulars with the most authentic historians."⁵⁰ Furthermore, it is evident from their prefaces that most popular writers of secret histories, travels, and lives in the eighteenth century such as Penelope Aubin, William Chetwood, Edward Kimble, Alexander Smith, Aphra Behn, and Elizabeth Haywood were as much a part of the mainstream of critical theorizing on romance as Mrs. Manley and Andrew Ramsay with their obstinate attention to the claims of history, truth, and fidelity to human experience.⁵¹

Independent critical comments on the essence of romance also suggest that realism was a critical desiderata for the romance in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some, like Sir George MacKenzie's An Apologie for Romances (1660), were by romance writers who were defending their own works against charges that romances were a waste of

time, were written with an intent to deceive, and were "ante-doting vertues."⁵² MacKenzie's three-pronged rebuttal characteristically relies on ancient precedent, an affiliation with historical writing, and an attack on the errors of the earlier romance writers.⁵³ Stressing the importance of avoiding the stuffing of romances "with things impracticable, which because they were above the reach of man's power, they should never have fallen within the circle of his observation" and of refraining from an inimitable soaring style (p. 8), the writer of Aretina; Or, the Serious Romance is confident that, if they are written by excellent wits and perused by intelligent readers, romances are "vessels which strain the christal streams of vertue from the puddle of interest" because they are bundled up with truths (pp. 6-7).

What would seem to make MacKenzie's treatise and the prefaces discussed earlier even more significant is that their expressed requirement of probability and the use of historical background is substantiated by critics who apparently had no vested interest in the defense or marketing of romances. An early instance of independent criticism, written originally in 1670, is "The History of Romances" (1715) which contains "the Best Instructions for Composing Romances, with all Necessary Dispositions for the Perfection of the Art."⁵⁴ Considerable space is allotted to a discussion of what is essential to a romance --

probability. Moreover, citing the authorities of Aristotle, Plato, Pigna, and Strabo, this tract presents romance as one resource for fulfilling man's need for a "Knowledge of Truth." Since romances are characteristically "True in Appearance," a "Shew of Truth," and have their source in history, they provide recourse to truth through imitation.

Nor can we simply say that with the passage of the eighteenth century the romance became less "romantic" as demands for realism created the novel; if anything, romances became more not less divorced from reality as its long tradition culminated in the gothic quest for oddity and suspense. Surely some reader demand was being satisfied by this tendency, though to be sure, critical reviewers vigorously prescribed to the imitation of nature, the observation of real life, and sober probability, the familiar desiderata which we have already seen in abundance in critical commentary on the romance.⁵⁵ Reviewers in such periodicals as The Analytical Review, the Gentleman's Magazine, The Critical Review, the Monthly Review, and The British Critic again and again invoked the concepts of realism that had long been associated with the theory of romance in their evaluation of mid- and late-eighteenth-century fiction. For example, Owen Ruffhead discusses in the Monthly Review the drooping genius of romance in his May, 1761, review of Almorán and Hamet: An Oriental

Tale. Ruffhead blames the general decline of romance and his particular disappointment in Almoran and Hamet upon the deviation from the principle that romance "ought never to exceed the bounds of probability."⁵⁶ Similarly, a July, 1788, review of Emmeline, the Orphan of the Castle laments Charlotte Smith's tendencies to preposterous sentiments, wild scenes, and absurd characters, as well as her general lack of "many touches of nature."⁵⁷ Some works, on the other hand, were praised because of their close imitation of nature, their variety of natural circumstances, and their interesting minuteness. For instance, a review of Memoirs of Miss Sidney Bidulph in The Critical Review of March, 1761, praises the artistry of Francis Sheridan in sustaining with propriety all the different personages, in strengthening the resemblance of the portraiture, and in observing probability throughout three volumes.⁵⁸

The point is, that all of these works under discussion would today be called romances rather than novels in any common acceptance of either term. This being the case, we can, on the one hand, limit our definition of realism to the old saw about lower-class characters, effectively destroying its usefulness as a critical tool; or, on the other hand, we can face more squarely than before the fact that the aesthetic urge toward realism was not an eighteenth-century phenomenon, but a demand imposed by writers and critics alike on prose fiction from its very beginning.

The eighteenth-century novel, I would argue did not arise at the wake of the romance as Watt argues; rather, a "novelist" like Smollett can best be understood by accepting the continued viability of romance as an eighteenth-century genre.

We may continue our argument on yet another ground. The equation of the rise of the novel with the rise of realism can be further questioned when one recognizes that the emphasis on realism had been even more widespread and long-standing than thus far indicated. This particularly apparent in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century criticism of the most traditional and most important of genres -- the epic narrative. A significant portion of epic criticism before and during the era considered to mark the rise of the novel employs the same critical terminology so frequently associated with that rise and fiction's alleged growing critical concern with realism. The problems of probability and verisimilitude for example, cited to indicate fiction's revolutionary commitment to the presentation of circumstantial reality, had long characterized discussions of conventional forms such as the epic. As a matter of fact, the narrative procedures of realism can be traced as general critical desiderata for the epic alone from the time of the ancients through the eighteenth century, and in the critical heritages of the Greeks, the Romans, the Italians, and the French, as well as the English.

Aristotle's literary criticism provided the foundation for almost every writer who later designed a plan for the epic.⁵⁹ In the twenty-six parts of the Poetics outlining the epic and tragedy in general and their species, the number and nature of their constituent parts, and the causes of success or failure in them, Aristotle distinctly anticipates the "new desire for realism" that is so frequently tied to the rise of the novel.

The master-concept of the Poetics is imitation.⁶⁰ For Aristotle, the writing of epic and of tragedy is an imitative or mimetic art, where characters and experiences and actions are copied from nature. The first four chapters outline the general origin of this poetic art of imitation and its media, objects, and method. Arguing that man is naturally mimetic, and that the reproductions created are pleasurable as well as educational, Aristotle outlines certain desirable traits for plot, characters, and narrative devices that clearly resemble the narrative procedures Watt finds so common in the novel and so rare in other genres. As an imitation of action, the plot should be composed of events, both probable and necessary (ix. 51a36-38b1); the structure of these events, too, should be probable or necessary; "peripity" as a shift in the action towards the opposite should be in accordance with the principles of probability or necessity (xi. 52a22-25).

Aristotle prescribes appropriateness, naturalness,

and consistency for the imitation of characters. He wants the artist's imitation to be faithful to the character of human beings in general. Furthermore, in the characters one must also seek constantly for either the necessary or the probable in exactly the same way as in the structure of the incidents (xv. 54a33-35). As a result, the conclusions or resolutions of a work should come from the characters themselves, not from external machines, in order to avoid improbabilities in the plot.

Aristotle's theory is based obviously on the Homeric epic. It is Homer who is contrasted to a poet that violates his duty of imitation by becoming intrusive in his narration (60a5-11); it is Homer who knows how to tell untruths in the right way (60a11-65). The twenty-fourth section dealing with the probable and marvelous in the epic summarizes the Aristotelian view on telling the truth about man and his actions. Aristotle clearly prefers probable impossibilities over improbable possibilities. The story should never be made up of improbable incidents, but, if unavoidable, the improbable should be outside the plot structure. The twenty-fifth section of the Poetics lists how the author as imitator may represent things: either as they were or are, or as they are said or thought to be or to have been, or as they ought to be. Finally, Aristotle concludes with a catalogue of the kinds of mimetic faults. Three of the five possible failures violate aspects of what

Watt attributes to circumstantial realism: being impossible; being improbable; or being contradictory.

In the long history of epic criticism, recognition of and concern with the realistic properties associated with verisimilitude, credibility, and probability are rarely far from view. Horace's Ars Poetica illustrates this concern, and along with Aristotle's comments clearly provides the foundation of all subsequent epic criticism. Intended to teach the business and duty of a writer, Horace's commentary on the art of poetry argues for representing life as it is and for not indulging in incongruities. An artist of good judgment shall: choose a subject within his powers; be simple and consistent in characterization and diction; avoid disgust and incredulity by observing the characteristics of each age; and include details only relevant to the subject as a whole (ll. 38-41).⁶¹ Horace feels that a writer of the epic, as any other, should be basically true to nature.

respicere exemplar vitae morumque iubebo
doctum imitatore et vivas hinc ducere voces.
(I shall bid the clever imitator look to life
and morals for his real model, and draw thence
language true to life.) (ll. 317-318)

The outstanding A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance reveals that Italian Renaissance criticism of the epic presents only variations on the themes of Aristotle and Horace. Using Strabo's definition of poetry as a key to the Renaissance theory of poetry,

J. E. Spingarn isolates the Italian emphasis on poetry as an imitation of life.⁶² He cites medieval literature's repeated reliance upon impossibilities as influential in forcing the critical writers of the Renaissance to lay particular stress on the element of probability and a closer approach to the seeming realities of life (p. 38). This theory of poetry as imitation found expression in the mirror metaphor and the rhetorical concept of enargeia throughout the middle and late Renaissance. Both suggest the portraiture of real life particulars. The mirror metaphor emphasized the poet's function of holding a mirror up to nature, and the concept of enargeia involved the putting of scenes concretely and vividly before a reader. Some of the important treatments of these concepts of imitation are to be found in Giovan Battista Pigna's I romanzi (1554), Giovambattista Giralaldi Cinthio's "Discorso intorno al comporre de i romanzi" (1554), Bartolomeo Cavalcanti's La Retorica (1559), Girolamo Muzio Giustinopolitano's Dell'arte poetica (1551), Giacompo Mazzoni's Della difesa Comedia di Dante (1688), Paolo Beni's Comparazione de Omero, Virgilio, e Torquato and In Aristotelis poeticam commentarii, and Torquato Tasso's Discorsi del poema eroico.⁶³

Tasso in his Apologia in difesa della sua Gerusalemme agli Accademici della Crusa (1585), as well as his expanded Discorsi del poema eroico (1594), insisted that

good poetry is not an imitation of what does not exist. He believes that true invention uses only existing things. In phrases that reverberated throughout the remainder of the Renaissance, Tasso added that fantastic imitators are the sophists of poetry, who hunt for their materials in darkness, whereas the true poet should search in the light of reality, in the splendor of what really exists:

Anyone who, in defining the poet, makes him a good man and a good imitator of the actions and habits of men for the purpose of giving profit by means of delight will not perhaps offer a definition that fits all poets; yet he will define the best and most excellent poet. Then if the poet is an imitator of human actions and habits, poetry will be an imitation of the same thing, and if the poet is a good imitator, his poetry will be an imitation equally well done.⁶⁴

For Tasso, as well as the critics such as Giulio Gustavini Antonio Menturio and Julius Caesar Scaliger who preceded and succeeded him, art became most perfect as it approached most closely to nature.

The conception of poetry as an imitation of life survived both the Italians and the Renaissance. Seventeenth-century French criticism also contributed to the preservation of the epic and the critical concern with narrative procedures of realism. Considered the most expansive and authoritative treatise on the epic in the seventeenth century, Rene Le Bossu's Traité du poëme épique (1675) propounds an epic theory which includes many of the "new" realistic techniques ascribed now to the eighteenth-century novel. Le Bossu's definition of the epic reflects

in itself an interest in the business of life: the epic is "a discourse invented by art, to form the Manners, by such instructions as are disguised under the allegories of some one important action, which is related in verse, after a probable, diverting, and surprizing manner."⁶⁵

Apparently intending to emphasize the importance of probability, he later abridges the definition to "a Fable gracefully form'd upon an important Action, which is related in Verse after a very probable and surprizing manner" (p.7).

As Le Bossu expounds on the nature of the epic in six books concerning definition, subject matter, narration, manners, machines, and thoughts and expression, the regard for verisimilitude becomes more and more apparent. The epic's foundation is "Truth" and "Fiction"; the "Fiction's" role is to allegorically disguise this "Truth" (p. 14). Required to be rational and probable, the epic should "imitate an action that is compleat and important" and seem to be taken out of history. The narration of this imitated action "should be extended and amplified by probable circumstances" (p. 64). Le Bossu calls for substantiation of the narrations' probability by the test of divinity, morality, nature, reason, experience, and vulgar opinion (III. vi). The discussion of characters reiterates the necessity of reason and probability with a preference for the natural over the extraordinary and the "out of the common Road."

Under the name of manners, Le Bossu considers "all the natural or acquired inclinations" of the epic. Significantly, the three qualifications demanded of the manners, besides "Goodness," are "Suitableness," "Resemblance," and "Evenness" (IV. vii). The discussion of each manner characteristically comes back to the requirements of common report, history, circumstances, and verisimilitude. Even a portrayal of gods is to be suitable to internal and external causes, likely, and even. The fifth book of Le Bossu's treatise outlines "the method of making use of those Machines probable, that are not of themselves Probable enough" (p. 224). The final book, "Concerning the Thoughts and the Expression," emphasizes that descriptions should be suitable (II), similes should employ familiar objects (III), style should be unembellished, nontechnical, and familiar (VII).

For Le Bossu, the epic is a poem written with the primary purpose of teaching a lesson and pointing a moral. For a student of Le Bossu's Traité du poème épique, it is obvious that, for this seventeenth-century French critic, an important avenue to these moral lessons and their truths is probability. Le Bossu prefers "a Probable Falsity before an Improbable Truth" and an epic using both Truth and Probability in its Expressions and its Dresses (p. 133); for to teach a truth "'tis likewise necessary that this Truth appear such, and convince those, we are willing to

convince, that is is profitable" (p. 133). As a result, his treatise on the epic reads much like a recitation of maxims prescribing realistic narrative techniques.

Eighteenth-century English critics demonstrate an acute awareness of the classical, Italian, and French emphasis on realism in the epic criticism which preceded theirs. Like so many of his century, John Dryden was attracted by the epic poem and reflected the influence of Aristotle and Le Bossu. Most of his criticism consequently contains much of the popular material and method that had been and was current.⁶⁶ A theme common to Dryden's epic criticism is his concern with verisimilitude, probability, and the imitation of human life. In the 1700 "Preface" to Fables Ancient and Modern, he defines a poem as the imitation of human life and suggests that the praise of an epic poem should indicate how the design, the disposition, the manners, and the thoughts contribute to this imitation.⁶⁷ Elsewhere he defines the epic poem as the draught of human life at length,⁶⁸ and its genius as "a just and lively image of human nature, in its actions, passions, and traverses of fortune."⁶⁹

Dryden's comments on epic action, characters, machines, language, and versification characteristically include an insistence upon either an exact image of human life or a likeness of truth. In the "Dedication" to Conquest of Granada, he defends his use of an imperfect hero:

". . . a character of an eccentric virtue is the more exact image of human life because he is not wholly exempted from its frailties. . . ."70 The preface to Troilus and Cressida prescribes probability as a necessary quality of action. It need not be historical truth, but should be more than barely possible in order to delight a reasonable audience.⁷¹ Although strongly in favor of the use of machines and the supernatural in the epic as well as drama, Dryden was conscious of the "bounds of what is credible" and often felt compelled to anticipate objections concerning their improbabilities. For example, in the dedication to the Aeneid, he seemingly apologizes for Virgil's epic machines by suggesting they not only are specious things to amuse the reader, but also "give a colour of probability to things otherwise incredible."⁷² Dryden places considerable importance on language and versification in the pursuit of nobility and dignity in the epic. His remarks in a letter to Sir Robert Howard as an account of Annus Mirabilis indicate the avenues he felt appropriate for this pursuit:

But to proceed from wit in the general notion of it, to the proper wit of an Heroick or Historical Poem, I judge it chiefly to consist in the delightful imaging of persons, actions, passions, or things. 'Tis not the jerk or sting of an Epigram, nor the seeming contradiction of a poor Antithesis, (the delight of an ill judging audience in a Play of Rhyme) not the gingle of a more poor Paranomasia: neither is it so much the morality of a grave sentence, affected by Lucan, but more sparingly used by Virgil; but it is some lively and apt description, dress'd in

such colours of speech, that it sets before
your eyes the absent object, as perfectly and
more delightfully than nature.⁷³

For Dryden, success for the epic is to be found in the portrayal of life. Although extremely conscious of the rules, principles, and theories of epic structure, it is what Watt and others describe as "realism" that Dryden considers basic to poetry in general and the epic in particular.

Whereas Dryden is representative of the general unanimity of opinion around the turn of the century, Alexander Pope has been observed to be "one of the freest agents among the English critics" on the epic up to his time.⁷⁴ Though Pope was clearly familiar with the methods and terminology prevalent in the theory of the epic, a comparison of his criticism with those of contemporary critics reveals frequent departures from the orthodox theorizing of the day. An examination of his preface to his translation of the Iliad (1715), of his notes to the Iliad (1715-1720), and of his postscript to his translation of the Odyssey (1726) documents, however, Pope's adherence to the long-prevailing disposition toward probability. The preface to the Iliad, for example, notes that the main story of an epic poem is a probable fable with "the recital of such actions as, though they did not happen, yet might, in the common course of Nature, or of such as, though they did, become fables by the additional episodes and manner

of telling them."⁷⁵ This 1715 preface significantly digresses from outlining what makes the Iliad a great poem by chastizing Homer for an excess of invention:

Among these we may reckon some of his Marvellous Fictions, upon which so much Criticism has been spent as surpassing all the Bounds of Probability. Perhaps it may be great and superior Souls as with gigantick Bodies, which exerting themselves with unusual Strength, exceed what is commonly thought the due Proportion of Parts to become Miracles in the whole and, like the old Heroes of that Make, commit something near Extravagance amidst a Series of glorious and inimitable Performances. Thus Homer has his speaking Horses, and Virgil has Myrtles distilling Blood, without so much as contriving the easy intervention of a deity to save the probability. (p. 13)

Pope himself found it difficult to accept wholly the transgression of going beyond nature. Pope's notes to his translation of the Iliad abound with remarks admiring the poem's probability, verisimilitude, and resemblance to life. For example, he finds Homer's whole design admirable because it is given "an air of probability" with the foundation of Achilles' wrath upon some visible distress.⁷⁶

Characterization is well conducted because "the poet has rather studied Nature than perfection in the laying down of his characters" (I. 155). The beauty of the imagery lies in its resemblance to nature and the things it represents (XIV. 21).

Answering objections to his style and providing a rationale for his particular translation, Pope's postscript to the Odyssey asserts that this epic's aim is

different from the Iliad's: "The Odyssey is a moral and political work, instructive to all degrees of men, and filled with images, examples, and precepts of civil and domestic life."⁷⁷ The Odyssey has for its subject what Watt and others believe to be the sole property of the novel -- life -- and Pope points out the appropriateness of the particular, the common, and the circumstantial in his translation of this epic. For style, "there is a real beauty in an easy, pure, perspicuous description even of a low action. . . . It is often the same in History, where the representations of common, or even domestic things, in clear, plain, and natural words, are frequently found to make the liveliest impression on the reader" (p. 387). The characterization of Ulysses "shows him not in that full light of glory but in the shade of common life, with a mixture of such qualities as are requisite to all the lowest accidents of it, struggling with misfortunes, and on a level with the meanest of mankind" (p. 386). Clearly in Pope's mind, the narrative procedures of Watt's "realism" were neither restricted to prose fiction nor new to the eighteenth century; he found them in Homer and defended them as part of a venerable tradition.

Because Samuel Johnson reiterates the familiar classical epic doctrine and because his approach strongly resembles those of Le Bossu and Addison, many found him as

overly orthodox as they found Pope overly liberal.⁷⁸ But Johnson's attention to poetry as the art of uniting pleasure with truth in the Lives of the English Poets was characteristic of epic criticism regardless of schools. His evaluation of Paradise Lost in the "Life of Milton" is another of the discussions of epic theory over the centuries that emphasized the urge for realism. Assuming moral instruction as the epic's objective, Johnson suggests that history be used to supply the rudiments of narration: ". . . morality must teach him [the writer] the exact bounds and different shades of vice and virtue; from policy and the practice of life he has to learn the discriminations of character and the tendency of the passions, either single or combined; and physiology must supply him with illustrations and images."⁷⁹ Thus Johnson considers "the appearances of nature and the occurrences of life" as the avenue to truth and morality, and therefore the fulfillment of the heroic poem's aim. As his evaluation progresses in "The Life of Milton," an association of excellence with truth underlies the commentary on epic characterization, fables, sentiments, and the probable and the marvelous. The level of excellence in any part is proportionate to the level of propriety, appropriateness, consistency, probability, and integrity.

Johnson's criticism of Paradise Lost includes a mixed reaction to Milton's avoidance of "painting things

as they are." By choosing a subject on which too much could not be said, Milton is able to avoid "the censure of extravagance," while sporting in the wide regions of possibility. But Johnson is not wholly satisfied with this amplitude of imagination: the images and descriptions do not have the freshness, raciness, and energy of immediate observation (p. 178); the plan of the poem is inconvenient and evokes little sympathy because it comprises neither human actions nor human manners (p. 181); the confusion of spirit and matter which pervades the whole narration fills it with incongruity (p. 185). For Johnson, "the want of human interest is always felt" and, as a result, Paradise Lost is a duty rather than a pleasure (p. 183). Taking into consideration his position in the mainstream of centuries of epic theorizing, Johnson's criticism of Paradise Lost in particular and of the epic in general reflects the critical consciousness of realism that has existed almost as long as the epic itself.

A more extensive and detailed investigation of epic criticism would serve only to substantiate further that "the doctrine of probability bulked large in the minds of most critics who considered the epic poem."⁸⁰ By the very breadth and consistency, these pronouncements on probability and verisimilitude suggest that realism was a critical desideratum long before its appearance in eighteenth-century prose fiction;⁸¹ and that within

the century, realism was a staple of the critical vocabulary concerning the most traditional of forms, the epic narrative. To argue, then, that realism was a "new" literary urge, a product of the time, is perhaps not quite correct; and to argue further that this emphasis on realism led directly to the rise of the novel is to ignore the fact that its primary role in the eighteenth century was to explain the efficacy of epic poetry. Furthermore, that the epic narrative, and its close relation, the romance, seem to stand in opposition to the novel -- at least in the schemata of twentieth-century critics -- suggests, on the one hand, that realism is not the best means of distinguishing between them; or, on the other, that the epic (with romance) and the novel are not as distinct as the critics have thus far imagined. Our study of Smollett's fiction will pursue both suggestions.

III. THE MOVEMENT FROM "PATTERN" TO "LIFE"

The twentieth-century commonplace most pernicious to an understanding of eighteenth-century fiction on its own merits is the assertion that the dismissal of romance and the "new" urge toward realism culminated in a new set of fictive values. These values are seen to have been wholly separate from a classical and medieval heritage and to have advocated the avoidance of convention. Depicting seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England as a society

of pervasive changing needs and spirit, modern literary historians argue for a concurrent movement in the artistic tendencies of fiction.

To them, eighteenth-century fiction was: "the literary counterpart of the scientific rationalism that has dominated the thought of the modern era"; "the literary manifestation of modern urbanized relationships and social complexity"; and "the literary medium of a bourgeoisie culture."⁸² By emphasizing an intellectual climate which stressed science, diligent observation, and precise details and a social system which was characterized by the growth of the middle class, interested in the practical and everyday, modern critics are well able to assert with confidence that the novel with its critical, anti-traditional, and innovative temper represents fiction's response to the century's changes.

The novel is, these modern critics argue, the appropriate response because of all literary forms, the novel best gives expression to the new values of modern human experience, particularly those values most befitting a scientifically rational and socially complex middle class culture. Similar to the middle class, the novel is indeterminate and flexible in form; like the large new reading public, it is interested in real people in real-life situations. It is only logical, critics such as Paulson, Stevenson, and Watt intimate, that, in a modern period with a

general intellectual orientation decisively rejecting universals, a modern form of fiction with practical, individual, empirical, and secular emphasis would arise.

Fundamental to this argument, it seems to me, is the modern critics' distinction between the fictive values that Arnold Kettle designates as "pattern" and "life."⁸³ To Kettle the elements of "life" in fiction convey a sense of life's gusto and vividness; the elements of "pattern" tell a significance about life as it provides a vision of life's essence. As indicators of the movement from the medieval world view to secularism, "pattern" and "life" reflect the difference between moral significance and surface texture, respectively. Kettle categorizes "pattern" with a predisposition to form, moral fable, and an allegorical tradition; and "life" with a partiality toward freedom, human interest, and the picaresque tradition. It is the difference between a fictional-moralist who affirms the medieval world view with his need to judge in terms of general meaning and a fictional-scientist who ignores this world view with a desire only to observe and record everyday particulars. To most critics, it is the distinction between romance and the novel.

These distinctions can be of considerable value as an approach to fiction. But Kettle, as the others, in his effort to "indicate something of the historical development of fiction" and to answer the questions "why did the

novel arise at all?" and "why should it have arisen when it did?" falls prey to the pitfalls of the "rise of realism" formula. In fact, in an effort to parallel the novel's rise with "the tearing of the veil of romance from the face of feudalism," Kettle's study closely links the elements of "life" with realism as he repeats the commonplace that the impulse towards realism was responsible for the novel's rise in the eighteenth century. By implication, with the rise of the novel and its alliance with the elements of "life," fiction becomes disassociated from the tendencies of "pattern" such as meaning, form, convention, and theodic world view. "Pattern" is relegated to romance and is steadily rejected as a viable alternative in fiction. Kettle, as well as others, maintains that "literature is a part of life and can be judged only in its relevance to life" and that "life is not static but moving and changing."⁸⁴ Thus, with an almost off-handed assuredness, it is asserted that, as the eighteenth-century world became "modern" and aware of "real life," it turned away from the rigidity and stasis of tradition, convention, and form so often aligned with the fictive values of "pattern."

With the acceptance of this assertion, the eighteenth century and its literature becomes a mirror to the tendencies of the twentieth-century's fictive values rather than reflecting an understanding of eighteenth-century fiction on its own terms. The resulting critical

theory is more suggestive of and more appropriate to the fictive vision of Robbe-Grillet than the narrative literature of the first half of the eighteenth century.

Consider the resulting critical treatment of Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding. The fiction of Defoe represents to Kettle the anti-feudal realism that is primarily concerned with "life" and surface texture rather than "pattern" and moral significance. The concern with Defoe's fiction is "not the concern which infuses and shapes the moral fable."⁸⁵ For Ian Watt, Defoe begins the tradition of the novel with works that "annihilated the relationships of the traditional social order, and thus drew attention to the opportunity and the need of building up a network of personal relationships on a new and conscious pattern; the terms of the problem of the novel and of modern thought alike were established when the old order of moral and social relationships was shipwrecked with Robinson Crusoe, by the rising tide of individualism."⁸⁶ Defoe's novels are considered ethically neutral because they make what Watt terms formal realism "an end rather than a means, subordinating any coherent ulterior significance to the illusion that the text represents the authentic lucubrations of an historical person."⁸⁷

According to Kettle, Watt, and others, Richardson's fiction is likewise extremely realistic in subject and presentation. "Moved by problems and situations which we

know through our experiences of life to be the real and vital problems," Kettle finds Richardson's characters and events presenting "a real and concrete human problem" dealing with the conflicts of an individual heart and conventional standards of a property owning class."⁸⁸ Again, Kettle decides that the firm and solid reality of "life" dominated the "pattern" of moral significance and finds its moral distribution of rewards and punishments offensive. Similarly, Watt cites Richardson's "re-orientation of the narrative perspective" for establishing Pamela, Clarissa, and Sir Charles Grandison in the tradition of the novel. As well as his authenticity of presentation, Richardson's "deep imaginative commitment to all the problems of the new sexual ideology and his personal devotion to the exploration of the private and subjective aspects of human experience" produced novels that "develop so freely and so profoundly under the impetus of its own fictional imperatives."⁸⁹

Interestingly enough, neither Kettle nor Watt considers Fielding as "having made quite so direct a contribution as Richardson to the rise of the novel."⁹⁰ Watt gives somewhat less extensive treatment to Fielding because the distinguishing elements of his fiction have their roots not so much in social change as in the neo-classical literary tradition. Minimizing literary tradition and suggesting that the use of conventions contrary to formal realism

reflects a deficiency of technique, Watt evaluates Fielding's impact in terms of "the supreme problem which the new genre had to face."⁹¹ For Watt, Fielding failed to initiate a viable tradition because he departed too far from formal realism. But he did provide a valuable service by perpetually reminding novelists of the need to challenge older literary forms by finding a way of conveying a convincing impression and an assessment of life in terms of individuals' experiences. Although more willing to admit the existence of some "pattern" in Fielding's fiction, Kettle on the other hand is also more insistent that the author's aim was to create a realistic mirror and a critical consideration of the life of his time.⁹² He describes Fielding as presenting a panoramic commentary on England that attacks the society of the time. The strategy was to present a picture of human nature and its society with an entirely non-symbolic plot. Fielding's approach depended upon the implementation of the elements of "life" rather than "pattern."

This emphasis on the qualities associated with the novel, realism, and the fictive values of "life" have dominated critical perspectives to such an extent that modern critics either ignore conflicting evidence or label it "intrusive," "jejune," "perfunctory," "bogus," "contrived," or "paying lip service." For example, "Cru-soe's occational religious moralizing" represented Defoe's

concession to his readers' austerity;⁹³ the religiosity and moral distribution are strands and tints which weaken Clarissa;⁹⁴ and Fielding's use of literary conventions and invocation of epic traditions seems to be an "attempt to smuggle the novel into the critical Pantheon under the disguise of an ancient and honored member."⁹⁵

Because of the apparent discrepancy between the twentieth-century critical conception of early eighteenth-century English fiction and significant aspects of the fiction itself, critics also often find the fiction of Defoe, Richardson, Fielding, and others unsatisfactory as novels. Ronald Paulson's dissatisfaction is representative. He states that the problem indigenous to the eighteenth-century novel in England is that "there is very often a lack of congruence between stated intention and the total book, between logical and psychological progressions, between plot and symbolism, and between differing conventions."⁹⁶

Why do critics insist that eighteenth-century fiction totally and exclusively represent the fictive values of the novel (and "life"), when they themselves find the works of the likes of Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding unsatisfactory as novels? Rather than accept the view that early eighteenth-century fiction is radically flawed, would it not be a more legitimate procedure to re-examine the intentions and conventions of this literature to ascertain

whether we are indeed reading it "with the same spirit that its authors writ"? For example, one need only survey the discussions of various narrative techniques in eighteenth-century epic criticism to find literary emphases that are far from hostile toward tradition, convention, and the fictive values of "pattern." The criticism records little if any perceptible shift as the century progresses from the Renaissance emphasis on moral significance.⁹⁷ With seventeenth- and eighteenth-century critics assuming that the epic narrative was foremost a moral force designed to persuade man by positive precept and example, their commentary on narrative elements such as structure, machines, characters, and language places little emphasis on the surface texture of urbanized relationships, social complexity, and everyday individual events.⁹⁸ Not only does this commentary, with its stress on the importance of evoking the readers' admiration in order to elicit approval and imitation of moral virtues and maxims, ignore the ends of "life," it actively sustains the values of "pattern" by consistently pointing to the epic's extensive tradition of narrative forms and conventions that have been and still should be used. For example, the emphasis on the didactic element in the epic led to the conclusion that the work must end fortunately for the hero.⁹⁹ If the reader is to be properly edified and moved by the admiration which the epic should engender, the epic writer

would logically construct an action and fable with a happy conclusion.

Another example of the century's high regard for the values of "pattern" is related to the critical concern for unity of action and fable.¹⁰⁰ Eighteenth-century critics on the whole repeatedly expressed the necessity of indicating a preconceived arrangement, of explaining the harmony of episodic and digressive materials with the strict theory of unity of action, and of showing the significance of each ordered fable to the epic as a whole. In their efforts to show that the action of a true epic is completely unified, episodes were defined in terms of their dependence upon connection and relation to the main action. Digressions were either ornamental or essential to the narrative development of the main action. Furthermore, the debate over the narrative effectiveness of "natural" and "artificial" arrangement suggests how pervasive the concern was for order and the elements of "pattern" in eighteenth-century literature. Although some might allow the fundamentally chronological order of a "natural" arrangement, the historical precedent of the conventions used by Homer and Virgil were influential in shaping the tradition that the "artificial" or in medias res arrangement was more effective.

Discussions of the correct use of the probable and the marvelous in the epic also challenge the opinion that

the values and techniques of "life" were dominant in the literary ideas of the eighteenth century.¹⁰¹ Because the governing objective was to raise admiration in order to instruct, the epic poet was expected to soar above the actions of commonplace experience. The only restriction was that it should not exceed what the mind of man is able to conceive of as possible. Significantly, this restraint was not very limiting, because the eighteenth-century mind considered the use of the supernatural or the use of miraculous action based on popular beliefs or popular tradition as ways of assuring probability while rising above the commonplace.

The question regarding the use of epic machinery also indicates how viable the tendencies of "pattern" were in eighteenth-century narrative criticism.¹⁰² Demonstrating an interest in convention as well as a predilection for tradition, most English critics of that time strongly advocated using some form of machinery. They pointed to Homeric precedent and Aristotelian commentary for documentation of the machines' ability to evoke admiration and delight. Even allegorical interpretations were attached to epic machines to strengthen their claim to being didactic or moral instruments in the epic. Furthermore, the debate over the relative merits of Christian and pagan machinery argues not only the continuing rhetorical concerns, but as well that secularism was not as pervasive in

literary circles as has been suggested. Some epic critics felt that the use of Christian theology tended to debase the true faith by making it too familiar; others responded that, inasmuch as the chief end is to instruct, the epic must employ the true religion. Both schools obviously hold fast to the Christian world view.

A final sample of epic criticism which verifies that the literary values of "pattern" were still alive well into the eighteenth century is the attitude toward language in the epic.¹⁰³ Rather than the unadorned, direct, and largely referential style associated with the literary tendencies of "life," the language and style of the epic was connected with the sublime. That the epic should be clothed in noble, majestic, serious, and exalted language was almost a universal belief. In order to touch the passions and evoke the admiration of the reader, the epic's language had to be perspicacious, to contribute to the elevation of thought, and to avoid the common ways of speech.

Even from this very condensed survey of eighteenth-century epic criticism, it is clear that there existed a substantial and sustained reliance upon and adherence to the tendencies of "pattern." Rather than any pervasive separation from a traditional, conventional, and moralistic approach to literature, eighteenth-century criticism dealing with the epic as a sacrosanct art-form suggests

a continued veneration for form and moral significance. Most important for our purposes, however, is the fact that the application of those literary values and concepts I have termed "pattern" was not restricted in the eighteenth century to the epic. One need not look far for direct and obvious correlations between the fictive values associated with the epic and the early eighteenth-century fiction writers such as Defoe, Fielding, and Richardson. The introductions, prefaces, and commentary printed with their works use the same terminology and discuss similar forms. For example, Defoe reiterates in both Robinson Crusoe and its continuation his didactic and moral aims, the just application of every incident to the whole, and the balance between a "just history of fact" and the variety of the strange and the surprising.¹⁰⁴ Richardson likewise expresses his conviction in his prefaces that each are vehicles of instruction, that a primary objective is the preservation of decency in language and images, and that all of the digressions, episodes, and reflections arise naturally from his main subject.¹⁰⁵ And finally, the introductory chapters of Fielding are well known for their debt to and use of epic criticism. As with Defoe and Richardson, Fielding's chapters concerning the marvelous, unity of action, characters, and fable in Tom Jones and Joseph Andrews not only suggest a similarity to epic criticism, but also a sharing of fictive values closely

allied with "pattern," tradition, and conventions.¹⁰⁶ Thus, not only does one find in early eighteenth-century literature evidence that the fictive values of "life" were not totally dominant, but also that writers such as Fielding, Richardson, and Defoe perhaps shared a common ground in addition to being "failures" as novelists.

Recent critical studies of early and mid-eighteenth-century fiction indicate further that interest in the values of "pattern" were not restricted to the epic. A growing number of investigations into the context of eighteenth-century prose fiction have identified and verified a frame of reference for such writers as Defoe, Richardson, Fielding, and others that take exception to an emphasis on literary values which represent a rising tide of individualism, secularism, and empiricism at the expense of universal values, a theodic world view, and traditional literary conventions. Not only do these scholars demonstrate a context for the fiction which argues a disposition to moral significance, but they suggest as well, through a re-reading of the fiction, an evaluation which provides a sense of coherence rather than incongruity between stated intention and the total work, between logical and psychological progressions, between plot and symbolism, and between differing conventions.

These recent critical investigations into the mid-eighteenth-century Christian context have touched upon

the major fiction writers of the period. For example, in his The Reluctant Pilgrim: Defoe's Emblematic Method and Quest for Form in Robinson Crusoe, J. Paul Hunter convincingly demonstrates Defoe's Christian concern with conversion and ethical conduct and his obligation to an inherited Puritan tradition and a set of established associations.¹⁰⁷ As well as suggesting the milieu, the thought processes, and the many techniques of form that Puritanism provided for Defoe, Hunter shows how this tradition was able to be articulated in a conscious artistic technique. He painstakingly outlines the presence of artistic control in the use of traditions such as spiritual autobiography and allegory, the use of biblical and historical allusiveness, and of an emblematic method based on rhythmic patterns, providential control, and representative details. In light of the modern critical tendency to describe Defoe's "circumstantial method" and his "realistic" appeal,¹⁰⁸ Hunter's study is particularly significant in that it discusses Defoe in regard to the fictive endorsement of values and of moral significance. He contributes to the profitable rethinking of categories of eighteenth-century fiction by demonstrating that an early eighteenth-century fiction writer existed in a tradition in which the artist explicitly states a moral purpose and uses a plan which explicitly and implicitly fulfills that intention.

John A. Dussinger's essay, "Conscience and the

Pattern of Christian Perfection in Clarissa" describes how Samuel Richardson's fictional form and content also can be seen in a frame of reference not dominated by secularism, empiricism, and innovative method.¹⁰⁹ Citing Richardson's explicitly declared intention of reviving the Christian religion, Dussinger shows how Clarissa is a parable illustrating the fundamental doctrine of the cross and how it depicts the operations of conscience as a means to salvation for the heroine. One indication cited of the religious orientation of Richardson's fable is the emulation of Milton's Christian epic through allusions to Paradise Lost; another is the verbal echoes noted between Clarissa's speeches and orthodox theology. Dussinger then reveals and examines three related themes which bear directly on the religious viewpoint in Clarissa: the contemptus mundi theme; the doctrine of atonement; and the doctrine of redemption.

Fielding's prose fiction has also occasioned studies indicating a disposition to traditional literary conventions and the consideration of universal moral values. For example, Martin C. Battestin's The Moral Basis of Fielding's Art: A Study of Joseph Andrews attempts to understand the moral pattern and purpose of Fielding's first novel in the ethical and religious contexts that conditioned it.¹¹⁰ Presenting the essential Christianity of Fielding's writings, Battestin asserts that the struc-

ture of Joseph Andrews was quite carefully designed -- given substance and shape by Fielding's Christian ethic and by the principle of what Fielding liked to call "that Epic Regularity."¹¹¹ Battestin documents the Christian backgrounds and contemporary evidence which indicate Fielding's basically latitudinarian beliefs; he illustrates in Fielding's work the literary commonplaces of parable, allegory, and neo-classical epic theory; and he cites the varied uses Fielding found for the traditions of history writing and the epic and for the vanitas vanitatum, deceptio visus, locus classicus, and rake's progress themes. Ultimately, Battestin concludes that, as a writer with firm Christian convictions, Fielding discovered within the homiletic and the literary traditions useful suggestions for shaping the meaning and method of Joseph Andrews.¹¹²

For further verification of the fictional disposition to "pattern" and moral significance, one might turn again to the eighteenth-century writers' own prefatory commentary. In his prefaces, Daniel Defoe insures the readers' awareness of his intent to instruct by example and his concern that the "Readers will be much more pleas'd with the Moral, than the Fable, with the Application than with the Relation, and with the end of the Writer than with the Life of the Person written of."¹¹³ Defoe's prefaces insist upon moral significance and the fictive values of "pattern." In Robinson Crusoe it calls for the just appli-

cation of every incident to "justify and honour the wisdom of Providence."¹¹⁴ Colonel Jack is a book founded on a useful plan for "the Discouragement of Vice, and the Recommendation of Virtue."¹¹⁵ Moll Flanders is described as a "Work from every part of which something may be learned, and some just and religious Inference is drawn."¹¹⁶

Richardson's editorial remarks also repeatedly emphasize the author's design to entertain and instruct within the framework of a Christian system. The "Preface by the Editor" to Pamela asserts the work's successful fulfillment of the desired aims "to Divert and Entertain, and at the same time to Instruct."¹¹⁷ Instruction is to be accomplished by "painting Vice deservedly Odious and setting Virtue in its own amiable Light of Religion and Morality." The preface to Clarissa suggests further the author's preoccupation with "the design of the whole."¹¹⁸ With prefatory hints and postscripts explicitly stating his aim "to investigate the Doctrines of Christianity, and to teach the Reader how to die, as well as how to live," Richardson explains the appropriateness of his selected style, his editing, and the necessity of the distinction between tragedy and comedy for an understanding of the work's conclusion. The preface to Sir Charles Grandison reviews all three works and how the last has "completed the Plan" and fulfilled his "first Design."¹¹⁹ Outlining the "pattern propounded," Richardson defends the vol-

ume of his fiction: ". . .not one Episode in the whole; nor after Sir Charles Grandison is introduced, one letter inserted, but what tends to illustrate the principal Design."¹²⁰

The prefatory material to the distinct books of Joseph Andrews, Tom Jones, and Amelia suggests that Fielding's fiction was even more closely tied to the values of "pattern." Each work proposes to either "ridicule affection and sow the seed of virtue,"¹²¹ to represent Human Nature for instructional purposes,¹²² or to promote the cause of virtue and expose some of the most glaring evils.¹²³ Even more prominent than the concern for moral significance is Fielding's emphasis on forms, traditions, conventions, and a recognition of conscious artistry. Invoking a variety of epic, dramatic, and historic forms and citing the precedents of many such as Homer, Horace, Cervantes, and Marivaux, Fielding constantly strives to reiterate one of the opening conjectures of Tom Jones that "the excellence of the mental entertainment consists less in the subject than in the author's skill in well dressing it up."¹²⁴ The successive prefatory chapters substantiate his rhetorical emphasis. In each, he points to matters such as: his ornamentation of the parts; his elevation of style; his contrasting of the comic and the serious; and his use of principles governing critics, the marvelous, characterization; and his use of sources.

As this sampling of eighteenth-century prefaces and recent reconsiderations of specific contexts for particular works suggest, the tendency to ascribe twentieth-century fictive values to eighteenth-century fiction has been perhaps over-emphasized and too readily accepted. It is not supposed that the literary values or tendencies associated with "life" did not exist, but, as has been demonstrated, there seems to be considerable evidence that the fictional vision of early and mid-eighteenth-century English writers can be more accurately characterized by recognizing its predominant tendency toward "pattern." Few would dare deny the presence of concrete surface detail, particulars of time and place, and individual human experience in the works of Defoe, Richardson, Fielding, or Smollett. However, one must object to any reading of these authors which finds them simply incomplete or inadequate versions of nineteenth- and twentieth-century novelists; which finds them half-hearted realists and insincere moralists; or which considers them without reference to the conventions and intentions they maintained. These misconceptions, along with a corresponding endorsement of present fictive values as the only possible ones, have tended seriously to distort the real accomplishment of eighteenth-century fiction.

While we can surely talk about a shift in emphasis during the century from one moral order to another and

from one attitude toward convention to a rather different attitude, the fact remains that eighteenth-century fiction must always be understood within the context of these changes and not as the final product of a final commitment to a new world view. We simply cannot separate eighteenth-century fiction and the general development of the novel from convention and artifice, from a classical, medieval, or Renaissance heritage.

In fact, rather than the lack of congruence between stated intention and a total book, between logical and psychological progressions, between plot and symbolism, and between differing conventions, a reading of early and mid-eighteenth-century fiction reveals the existence of one common ground of fictional values based on similarities of a conventional plot and structure and a tradition of a universal world view. Rather than the culmination of a movement from "pattern" to "life," the fiction of such authors as Defoe, Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett embraces and endorses a traditional moral order and the traditional aesthetic values associated with "pattern." It represents the endurance and the influence of a literary tradition that existed in some form from classical Greece up to and through eighteenth-century England. This is the romance tradition.

NOTES

¹Arthur Johnston, Enchanted Ground: The Study of Medieval Romance in the Eighteenth Century (London: Athlone Press, 1964), p. 28. Arundel Esdaile's A List of English Tales and Prose Romances Printed Before 1740 (London: Blades East and Blades, 1912) attempts to list all the editions of tales and prose romances printed prior to 1740, while the British Museum's General Catalogue of Printed Books (London: Balding and Mansell, 1965) records only the possessions of the British Museum up to 1955. As a result, citation of editions in the British Museum are made only to indicate a trend rather than authentication of all editions. Neither list is comprehensive.

²See Ronald S. Crane, "The Vogue of 'Guy of Warwick' From the Close of the Middle Ages to the Romantic Revival," PMLA, XXX (1915), 125-94; Rudolph Willard, "Layamon in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," Texas Studies in English, XXVII (1948), 239-278.

³Earl R. Wasserman, Elizabethan Poetry in the Eighteenth Century (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1947), p. 255.

⁴Wasserman, p. 255.

⁵Thomas P. Haviland, The Roman De Longue Haleine on English Soil (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1931), p. 16.

⁶Haviland, p. 17.

⁷See Alfred Horatio Upham, The French Influence in English Literature (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908), pp. 8-11; Charlotte E. Morgan, The Rise of the Novel of Manners (New York: Columbia University Press, 1911), p. 32.

⁸Montague Summers, The Gothic Quest (rept. 1938, New York: Russell and Russell, 1964), p. 25.

⁹The Life of Thomas Gent, ed. Joseph Hunter (London, 1832): p. 49.

¹⁰The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, ed. George Sherburn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), I, 375-376.

- ¹¹Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, pp. 100-101.
- ¹²A Catalogue of Horace Walpole's Library, ed. Allen T. Hazen (New York: Yale University Press, 1969), III, 289-290.
- ¹³The Life of Thomas Holcroft, ed. Elbridge Colby (London: Constable, 1925), I, 10-11.
- ¹⁴Charlotte E. Morgan, The Rise of the Novel of Manners (New York: Columbia University Press, 1911), pp. 154-223; William Harlin McBurney, A Check List of English Prose Fiction, 1700-1739 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1960).
- ¹⁵The Britwell Handlist or Short-Title Catalogue of the Principal Volumes from the Time of Caxton to the Year 1800 Formerly in the Library of Britwell Court, Buckinghamshire, ed. Norah Christie-Miller (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1933), pp. v-vi.
- ¹⁶The Huth Library. A Catalogue of the Printed Books, Manuscripts, Autograph Letters, and Engravings, Collected by Henry Huth, With Collations and Bibliographical Descriptions. (London: Elles and White, 1880), pp. iv-vii.
- ¹⁷A Facsimile Reproduction of a Unique Catalogue of Laurence Sterne's Library, ed. Charles Whibley (London: James Tregaskes and Son, 1930). Some examples are: Appian of Alexandria (entry no. 259), Arcadia (88), Argenis (1797, 1798, 2100), Croxall's Collection (2451), and The New Atalantis (1737).
- ¹⁸A Catalogue of Horace Walpole's Library, ed. Allen T. Hazen (New York: Yale University Press, 1969).
- ¹⁹There are six eighteenth-century French editions (1700, 1711, 1715, 1725, 1749, 1764) and three eighteenth-century English renditions (1715, 1722, 1729) in the British Museum to suggest the popularity of Huet's work.
- ²⁰Clara Reeve, The Progress of Romance and the History of Charoba, Queen of Aegypt (New York: Facsimile Text Society, 1930), pp. vii-xii.
- ²¹John Dunton, "Whether 'tis Lawful to read Romances," The Athenian Mercury (December 17, 1692), in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 29.

²²It is significant to note that Charles Gildon was extremely critical of Robinson Crusoe in his Epistle to Daniel Defoe (1719) and his Postscript to An Epistle to Daniel Defoe (1719). The thrust of Gildon's attack was "your Book is nothing but a Romance." Responding in his preface to the Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, Defoe ascribes the accusation as a product of envy over his success. However, Defoe does make sure to testify to the historical veracity in the prefaces of every novel which followed.

²³"A Censure on the present reigning taste for Novels and Romances, and how to cure it," The London Magazine, XVIII (May, 1749) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, pp. 127-129.

²⁴An Essay on the New Species of Writing Founded by Mr. Fielding, ed. A. D. McKillop (Los Angeles: Augustan Reprint Society, 1962), p. 13.

²⁵"Letter to Mr. Fitz-Adams," The World, XIX (Thursday, May 10, 1753) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, pp. 206-209.

²⁶Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith, ed. Arthur Friedman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), II, 221-225.

²⁷The Monthly Review, VIII (May, 1753), 394; XIV (June, 1756), 516-520; XVI (June, 1757), 567-568; XXVIII (June, 1773), 546-548.

²⁸"T. Row," "Letter to Sylvanus Urban," The Gentleman's Magazine, XXXVII (December, 1767), in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, pp. 206-209.

²⁹Miscellaneous Pieces in Prose and Verse (London, 1773) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 280.

³⁰The Critical Works of John Dennis, ed. Edward Niles Hooker (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1943), II, 1-18; Defoe, "Preface to Colonel Jack," vi-viii; The Works of Samuel Johnson, L.L.D. (Oxford: Talboys and Wheeler, 1825), II, 11-15; Horace Walpole, The Castle of Otranto, ed. W. S. Lewis (London: Oxford University Press, 1964); Whitehead, "Letter to Mr. Fitz-Adams" and George Canning, The Microcosm, XXVI (Monday, May 14, 1787) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, pp. 341-346.

³¹See above pp. 36-39.

³²Watt, pp. 9-10.

³³See Charles Gildon, Postscript to an Epistle to Daniel Defoe (1719); An Essay on the New Species of Writing Founded by Mr. Fielding (1751); "A review of Peregrine Pickle," Monthly Review, IV (1751); 'T. Row', "Letter to Sylvanus Urban," Gentleman's Magazine, XXXVII (1767) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, pp. 66-70, 150-159, 160-162, 272-273.

³⁴Ed. A. D. McKillop (Los Angeles: Augustan Reprint Society, 1962), p. 14.

³⁵Novel and Romance, pp. 3-4.

³⁶"Preface to Ibrahim, or the Illustrious Bassa (1674)," Prefaces to Fiction, ed. Benjamin Boyce (Los Angeles: Augustan Reprint Society, 1952), pp. 3-4.

³⁷Ibrahim, p. 4.

³⁸In Arthur Jerrold Tieje, The Theory of Characterization in Prose Fiction Prior to 1740 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1916), p. 21.

³⁹Sir Charles Cotterell, trans. Cassandre: The Fam'd Romance. . . . (London, 1667), p. 515.

⁴⁰Haviland, The Roman de Longue Haleine on English Soil, p. 9; Arthur L. Cooke, The Concept and Theory of Romance from 1650-1800 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1944), p. 80.

⁴¹London, 1678), p. A3^v.

⁴²Hymen's Praeludia, or Love's Master-Piece. . . . (London, 1687), p. A2^v.

⁴³Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 26.

⁴⁴Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 31.

⁴⁵Prefaces to Four Seventeenth-Century Romances, ed. Charles Davies (Los Angeles: Augustan Reprint Society, 1953), p. A1.

⁴⁶Prefaces, ed. Charles Davies, p. B3.

⁴⁷Prefaces, ed. Charles Davies, pp. A3-A4.

⁴⁸Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, pp. 33-39.

⁴⁹Andrew Ramsay, The Travels of Cyrus, 4th edition (London: 1730), p. vi.

⁵⁰Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 90.

⁵¹See Penelope Aubin, A Collection of Entertaining Histories and Novels (1729); William Rufus Chetwood, The Voyages, Dangerous Adventures, and imminent Escapes of Captain Richard Falconer (1720) and The Voyages and Adventures of Captain Robert Boyle (1726); Edward Kimble, The life and Adventures of Joe Thompson, A Narrative founded on Fact (1750) and The Life, Extraordinary Adventures, Voyages, and Surprizing Escapes of Captain Neville Frowde (1758); Histories and Novels By Mrs. Aphra Behn, together with her Life and Memoirs (1696, 1705); Alexander Smith, Complete History of the Lives and Robberies of the most notorious Highwaymen (1714, 1720, 1726); Secret Histories, Novels, and Poems written by Mrs. Eliza Haywood (1725).

⁵²Prefaces, ed. Charles Davies, pp. 5-6.

⁵³Prefaces, ed. Charles Davies, pp. 5-11.

⁵⁴Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 45.

⁵⁵See Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, nos. 54, 56, 58, 68, 84, 88, 89, 91, 92, 97, and 98.

⁵⁶Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 240.

⁵⁷Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, pp. 355-356.

⁵⁸Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, pp. 234-235.

⁵⁹Marvin T. Herrick, The Poetics of Aristotle in England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), p. 81.

⁶⁰Gerald F. Else, Aristotle's Poetics: The Argument (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 12. Further references to the Poetics will appear in the text and will utilize Else's notations.

⁶¹Horace on the Art of Poetry, ed. Edward Henry Blakene (London: Scholartis Press, 1928), pp. 42-43.

⁶²J. E. Spingarn, A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924), p. 276.

⁶³See Baxter Hathaway, The Age of Criticism: the Late Renaissance in Italy (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962); Bernard Weinberg, A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963).

⁶⁴Literary Criticism: Plato to Dryden, ed. Allan H. Gilbert (New York: American Book Company, 1940), p. 469.

⁶⁵Le Bossu and Voltaire on the Epic, ed. Stuart Curran (Gainesville, Florida: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1970), p. 6.

⁶⁶H. T. Swedenberg, Jr., The Theory of the Epic in England, 1650-1800 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1944), p. 54.

⁶⁷Essays of John Dryden, ed. W. P. Ker (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), II, 252-253.

⁶⁸"Dedication of the Aeneid," ed. Ker, II, 157-159.

⁶⁹"Essay on Dramatic Poesy," ed. Ker, I, 101-102.

⁷⁰The Works of John Dryden, ed. Sir Walter Scott and George Saintsbury (Edinburgh, 1882-1893), IV, 16.

⁷¹Ker, I, 209.

⁷²Ker, II, 208-210.

⁷³Ker, I, 14-15.

⁷⁴Swedenberg, p. 70.

⁷⁵"Preface," The Iliad of Homer, Translated by Mr. Pope in The Twickenham Edition of the Poems by Alexander Pope, ed. Maynard Mack (London: Methuen, 1967), VII, 5.

⁷⁶The Odyssey of Homer, Twickenham Edition, IX, 427-428.

⁷⁷"Postscript by Mr. Pope," The Odyssey of Homer, Twickenham Edition, X, 382.

⁷⁸Swedenberg, p. 124.

⁷⁹Lives of the English Poets, ed. G. B. Hill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), I, 170.

⁸⁰Swedenberg, p. 244.

⁸¹There are, of course, many important modern critical studies which document the existence of an aesthetic urge toward realism well before the supposed rise of the novel in the eighteenth century. John D. Boyd's The Function of Mimesis and Its Decline (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968), for example, aims "to study a single critical concept in its tradition, namely the function of mimesis, of poetry or literature looked upon as an imitation of life" (p. vii). Boyd contends such a study historically should cover the twenty-three centuries from fifth-century classical Greece to eighteenth-century England. However, perhaps the monumental study of the representation of reality in western literature is Erich Auerbach's Mimesis (translated by Willard R. Trask) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953). In fact, a history of literature from Homer's Odyssey to the twentieth-century novel, Auerbach's study investigates "to what degree and in what manner realistic subjects were treated seriously, problematically, or tragically" (p. 556). Significantly, this investigation involved the literature of historical epochs throughout the history of western man and asserts the existence of "serious realism" long before the eighteenth century.

⁸²Stevenson, The English Novel: a Panorama, p. 9.

⁸³An Introduction to the English Novel (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1951), pp. 11-24.

⁸⁴Kettle, p. 12.

⁸⁵Kettle, pp. 55-62.

⁸⁶The Rise of the Novel, p. 92.

⁸⁷Watt, p. 117.

⁸⁸Kettle, pp. 66-67.

⁸⁹Watt, p. 220.

⁹⁰Watt, p. 239.

⁹¹Watt, p. 288.

⁹²Kettle, pp. 71-81.

⁹³Stevenson, pp. 65-66.

⁹⁴Kettle, p. 61.

⁹⁵Watt, p. 258.

⁹⁶Satire and the Novel in Eighteenth-Century England, p. 49.

⁹⁷Swedenberg, pp. 192-215. To be sure, the epic and the novel as even the romance are distinct genres; however, as I shall demonstrate, literary criticism in the eighteenth century took its cue over and over again from commentary on the epic, in the same way, perhaps, that the twentieth-century critic has judged literature almost solely by novelistic or lyric values.

⁹⁸Swedenberg, pp. 216-240 ("Unity"), 266-305 ("Machines"), 306-334 ("Characters"), 335-379 ("Language and Versification").

⁹⁹See Swedenberg, pp. 166-192; selections numbered 2, 6, 10, 18, 38, and 44.

¹⁰⁰Swedenberg, pp. 166-192.

¹⁰¹Swedenberg, pp. 241-265.

¹⁰²Swedenberg, pp. 266-305.

¹⁰³Swedenberg, pp. 335-379.

¹⁰⁴"Preface" to Robinson Crusoe (1719) and "Preface" to The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe (1719) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, pp. 56, 64-65.

¹⁰⁵The Shakespeare Head Edition of the Novels of Samuel Richardson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1931), I, vii-xvii; VII, 306-330.

¹⁰⁶Tom Jones, Book VIII, Chapter I; Book X, Chapter I; Joseph Andrews, Preface.

¹⁰⁷J. Paul Hunter, The Reluctant Pilgrim: Defoe's Emblematic Method and Quest for Form in Robinson Crusoe (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966).

¹⁰⁸Stevenson, The English Novel, pp. 61-75; A. D. McKillop, The Early Masters of English Fiction (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1956), pp. 1-46; Baker, The History of the English Novel, III, 175-229 are among the standard histories of the English novel which discuss Defoe primarily in these terms.

¹⁰⁹PMLA, LXXXI (1966), 236-45.

- 110 Martin C. Battestin, The Moral Basis of Fielding's Art (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1959), p. ix.
- 111 Battestin, p. 3.
- 112 Battestin, p. 153.
- 113 "Preface" to Moll Flanders (1722) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 76.
- 114 Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 56.
- 115 Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 74.
- 116 Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 77.
- 117 Samuel Richardson's Introduction to Pamela, ed. Sheridan W. Baker, Jr. (Los Angeles: Augustan Reprint Society, 1954), pp. iii-vi.
- 118 Shakespeare Head Edition, I, xi-xvii.
- 119 Shakespeare Head Edition, I, vii-ix.
- 120 Shakespeare Head Edition, I, ix.
- 121 Joseph Andrews, ed. Sheridan Baker (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1972), I. 1. 74.
- 122 Tom Jones, ed. Sheridan Baker (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), I. 1. 26.
- 123 Amelia, ed. George Saintsbury (New York: Bigelow, Brown and Company, n.d.), Dedication, xxi.
- 124 Tom Jones, I. 1. 26.

CHAPTER II

In the multifaceted context of twentieth-century literary criticism, the mention of romance can result in an amazing variety of responses depending upon the individual scholar's special interest. Considering the diversity of recent studies that have dealt with romance, one can agree with Howard Felperin that "coming to terms with romance is a difficult task, precisely because romance, of all imaginative modes, is the most fundamental, universal, and heterogeneous."¹ Northrup Frye can conceive of romance as: a mode where the hero is superior to other men and to his own environment; a mythos of literature concerned primarily with an idealized world; or a form of prose fiction distinguishable from the novel by its tendency to allegory.² In their attempt to examine the evolution of forms within the narrative tradition, Robert Scholes and Robert Kellogg are even more reluctant to specify a narrow conception of romance. They visualize it in the "thicket of confused terminology" as signifying a fiction composed by an individual author for esthetic ends.³ For convenience, they assume Clara Reeve's definition that the romance is "an heroic fable which treats of fabulous persons and things" and which, in "lofty and elevated language, describes what never happened nor is likely to happen" (pp. 6-7).

Other modern critics have approached romance from a specific historical perspective. The renowned medievalist and Malory scholar Eugene Vinaver, for example, discusses romance as an early literary form developed with such traditional medieval devices and processes as conjuncture, coalescence, and analogy.⁴ As opposed to the reduced perspective of the eras that were to follow, the romance described by Vinaver mirrors the doctrinal background, the closed universe, and the eternal order representing the medieval world. On the other hand, in his attempt to demonstrate the pervasive presence of romance within Shakespeare's entire work, Howard Felperin envisions a mode which culminated in the Renaissance with the convergence of classical romance, chivalric romance, and religious drama.⁵ Any resemblance of Felperin's working theory of romance to Vinaver's theory seems coincidental.

Similarly, while investigating nineteenth-century English and American fiction, scholars have managed to study seemingly all species of literature as "romance." Students of Ann Radcliffe and her followers find romances to be "daydreams of a mind at once fastidious and audacious, capable of energy and langour, responsive to beauty and to awe, and tremblingly sensitive to imaginative fear."⁶ These romances are sensational and lyrical, coarse and pictorial, grotesque and gorgeous; "the spell of romance consists in imaginative terror."⁷ In contrast, students of

Cooper, Hawthorne, and Melville interpret romance as a form to define and explain certain mythic aspects of the American experience and consequently to formulate moral truths of universal validity. In his seminal The American Novel and Its Tradition, Richard Chase submits that romance "must signify, besides the more obvious qualities of the picturesque and the heroic, an assumed freedom from the ordinary novelistic requirements of verisimilitude, development, and continuity; a tendency towards melodrama and idyl; a more or less formal abstractness and, on the other hand, a tendency to plunge into the underside of consciousness; a willingness to abandon moral questions or to ignore the spectacle of man in society, or to consider these things only indirectly or abstractly."⁸ Joel Porte's study of the same authors aligns romance with the use of conventional or archetypal figures of symbol, parable, dream, and fantasy in order to explore questions about race, history, nature, human motivation, and art.⁹ John Stubbs urges the conception of romance as "process."¹⁰ Presenting a vision of Hawthorne's pursuit of form, Stubbs cites The Scarlet Letter as the beginning of the artist's self-conscious probing and ordering of human experience which in turn is seen as Hawthorne's adaptation of romance.

Thus, even when attempting to investigate the literature of the same authors, the conception of romance can become slippery. Then when one considers the work of

specialists such as John J. Richetti, Charles Muscatine, and Walter R. Davis, romance can be seen to have flourished in all ages and societies in such diversity of forms that explicit definition can easily be lost in a morass of futile generalizations.¹¹

Fortunately, however, a considerable canon of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century literary criticism permits a consideration of the eighteenth-century English conception of romance which may throw sufficient light on the subject to provide at least a satisfactory working concept for our present purposes. Generally this criticism either attempts to survey the historical development of romance or to determine the relative merits of eighteenth-century fictional works through comparison to earlier romance forms. This criticism suggests the broad historical base of tradition and convention that nurtured the resulting romance form.

The historical surveys and the critical arguments for and against romances affirm the close correlation between the fictive values of "pattern" and of romance. In his essay originally entitled Sur l'origine des Romans (1670) and later translated as The History of Romances (1715), Pierre Daniel Huet provides a definition which is suggestive of the eighteenth-century perception of romance in England:

. . . we esteem nothing to be properly Romance but Fictions of Love Adventures, disposed into an Elegant Style in Prose, for the Delight and Instruction of the Reader.

I call them Fictions, to discriminate them from True Histories; and I add, of Love Adventures, because Love ought to be the Principal Subject of Romance. It is required to be in Prose by the Humour of the Times. It must be compos'd with Art and Elegance, lest it should appear to be a rude undigested Mass, without Order or Beauty.¹²

Both the historical and critical commentary which substantiates and elaborates upon Huet's widely accepted conception of romance associates the fictive values of "pattern" with the romance's plot, structure, and world view.

Rather than heralding an independence from literary conventions and artifice, the criticism expresses a strong consciousness of structure, form, and design. From the 1660 "A Preface to the Reader, Concerning the Design of this Book" which precedes Nathaniel Ingelo's Bentivolio and Urania to the 1785 edition of Clara Reeve's The Progress of Romance, references to "exact patterns," "the principall Design," "regularity," and "calculated plans" are commonplace. Authors are anxious to preclude any assertions that their works contain "some feign'd coherency," "disentangled Thoughts," "absurdities of wild Imagination," or "Contrivance poor."¹³ In their efforts to defend fiction and therefore their consideration of it, critics emphasize the well-contrived stories and that "it is not, therefore, the nature of this sort of writing, considered

in itself, but the faulty manner of its execution, that can expose it to any contempt."¹⁴

Because "the nature of this sort of writing" is conspicuously to "seek for a more splendid order of things," critics surveyed and judged prose fiction in terms of "artfull management of a regular and uniform plan."¹⁵ The action of a story should proceed with regularity; events should appear to be produced in a regular and connected series; necessary and apparent connections should be obvious.¹⁶ The writers in turn cited the exact decorum and the artificially contrived nature of their works.¹⁷ Their prefaces and dedicatory epistles speak of equality of proportion and the main design,¹⁸ of coherent parts and "Nice Extractors of Regularity."¹⁹ Fiction in general is linked with the "Strick Rules of Art" and "Exquisite Composures." For example, one of the main objectives for Stephen Lewis's 1715 translation of Pierre Daniel Huet's treatise, The History of Romances, was to convey "the Best Instructions for Composing Romances, with all Necessary Dispositions for the Perfection of the Art."²⁰ Thirty-seven years later, John Hawkesworth describes old romances, novels, and new romances as narrative writing's turning away from exhausted Nature to the resources of Art.²¹

As reflected in commentaries written even later in the eighteenth century such as Hugh Blair's "On Fictitious History" (1762), James Beattie's "On Fable and Romance"

(1783), and George Canning's article in The Microcosm (May 14, 1787), narrative art for the most part finds definition in the demands of form and genre.²² Blair, Beattie, and Canning survey the history of fiction by citing distinctions in formal structure, subject handling, plot design, and character patterns. Not unlike most seventeenth- and eighteenth-century historians and critics of fiction, they sweep from Homer to Fielding, citing such distinctions as that between historical and poetical arrangements, between unities of design and action, and between allegorical and poetical fables to signify comparative levels of success. Considerations of narrative content are done primarily in terms of proportion, arrangement, or unity.

Whether descriptive or prescriptive, the vision of fiction in the eighteenth century in general mirrors an affirmation of order based on design, calculation, plan, and structure. Furthermore, as has been suggested previously, romance represented a specific manifestation in eighteenth-century fiction of conventional and traditional order in plot, structure, and world view.

I. ROMANCE AS THE DESIGN AND CONTEXTURE OF PLOT

Whether in prefaces to seventeenth-century romances such as Theodora and Didymus or critical introductions to collections of eighteenth-century writers such as Fielding, the "Design, Contexture and Result of the Plot" are discussed, summarized, and typed in essentially the same manner.

From medieval to seventeenth-century romances, love represents the chief motivating force in plot. Jean Chapelain surmises that the reading of old romances permits an historical view of the honor, valor, and religion of love affairs.²³ Equating the veracity of the story of Lancelot with the history of Livy, Chapelain applauds the old romances because of their affirmation of purity, virginity, and innocence in love. A. Munday's 1664 edition of the Renaissance romance The Famous History of the Noble and Valiant Prince of Palmerin of England is succinctly summarized in the Epistle Dedicatory as a story of "worthy knights' loves and memorable adventures."²⁴ Nathaniel Ingelo found love to be so predominant a subject in romance that he asserted in his preface to Bentivolio and Urania (1660) that the "whole Rhapsody" of romance writers, beginning and end, is a woman.²⁵ Their devotion to love had become so extreme, Ingelo feels, that "their chief Design is to put fleshly Lust into long stories, and

sometimes not without very unhandsome mixtures, tending onely to the service of brutish Concupiscence, the nourishment of dishonorable affections, and by exciting in the Readers muddy fancies. . . ."26 Andrew Michael Ramsay is not as harsh as Ingelo concerning the emphasis upon love in romances. In his preface to the fourth edition of The Travels of Cyrus, Ramsay considers the conflict of virtuous love and criminal passion as central to his narrative.²⁷

The romance's emphasis on love is reflected as well in eighteenth-century definitions of romance. John Kersey in A New English Dictionary (1702) defines romance as "a feigned story about amorous adventures and intrigues."²⁸ Neither Glossographia Anglicana Nova (1707), Edward Phillips' The New World of Words (1720), or James Buchanan's Linguae Britannicae Vera Pronunciatio (1757) perceptively alter Kersey's definition.²⁹ Samuel Johnson's entry describes romance as "a tale of wild adventures in war and love," and echoes earlier definitions such as N. Bailey's in The Universal Etymological English Dictionary ("a fabulous relation of certain intrigues and adventures of love and gallantry to entertain and instruct the readers") and Thomas Dyche's and William Pardon's in A New General English Dictionary ("a feigned story, sometimes wrote in prose, and sometimes in verse, and commonly upon the subject of love, or arms. . . .").³⁰ A definition in terms of love also typifies dictionaries that followed such as

John Ash's The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language (1775) and Thomas Sheridan's A General Dictionary of the English Language (1780), both of which reiterated the importance of love as the major subject and hence as a defining attribute of romance.³¹

As well as the romance critics and theorists such as Richard Hurd ("the love of God and of the ladies went hand in hand, in the duties and ritual of chivalry") and James Beattie ("love would be a chief theme in their compositions"),³² eighteenth-century fiction writers also cite the prominence of love in their works. Fielding, for example, in the prefatory chapter entitled "Of Love" to the sixth book of Tom Jones, warns the reader that this work may not be his dish:

Examine your Heart, my good Reader, and resolve whether you do believe these Matters with me. If you do, you may now proceed to their Exemplification in the following Pages; if you do not, you have, I assure you, already read more than you have understood and it would be wiser to pursue your Business, or your Pleasures (such as they are) than to throw away any more of your Time in reading what you can neither taste nor comprehend. To treat of the Effects of Love to you, must be as absurd as to discourse on Colours to a Man born blind; since possibly your Idea of Love may be as absurd as that which we are told such blind Man once entertained of the Colour Scarlet: that Colour seemed to him to be very much like the sound of a Trumpet; and Love probably may, in your Opinion, very greatly resemble a Dish of Soup, or a Sirloin of Roast-beef.³³

Although survival seems more important than love, Moll Flanders, Captain Singleton, and Colonel Jack achieve

happiness in terms of love and marriage; Squire B. and Robert Lovelace pursue Pamela and Clarissa until one is accepted in marriage and the other is rejected for another kind of marriage; Tom Jones and Joseph Andrews seek Sophia Western and Fanny Goodwill with love throughout England; Sir Charles Grandison must sort out the loves and marriages with Harriet Byron and Clementina della Porretta; and Amelia sustains her love for Captain Booth through tests of virtue and destitution.

Besides a mutual emphasis on the subject of love, there are other striking similarities between eighteenth-century fictional plots and those of classical, medieval, Renaissance, and seventeenth-century romance. Greek romance commonly deals with the hardships of separated lovers; contains storms, shipwrecks, pirates, and savage beasts; covers many countries and many years; and concludes with virtue preserved, nobility discovered, and lovers reunited in improbable recognition scenes. These recognitions usually come about through the chance working of fortune or the revealed providence of a benevolent deity.³⁴ Illustrating the ennobling power of love, the most common plot structure of medieval chivalric romance depicts a young knight launching forth into a fabulous landscape and performing a series of heroic exploits, often undertaken in the name of an idealized mistress and often of an increasingly demanding nature. These medieval romance plots

are so outstandingly conventional that they can be sketched in five stages: the opening situation with an opportunity for love and some barrier to the union; the development of the love with the initial struggles between pride and indifference; the culmination of the love with temporary success usually in the form of betrothal; the reversal into separation and estrangement with a period of complication and trial; and finally the denouement with the decisive victory over the last obstacle and the union that assures permanent happiness.³⁵

Whether inclined to the exempla, pastoral, or courtly traditions, the many Renaissance romances still display a plot of highly complex disposition.³⁶ The typical Renaissance specimen is a quest romance in which the heroes must abandon an imperfect society, journey through strange worlds full of menacing forces, and suffer numerous trials and struggles before reaching their destination. Here their sufferings are rewarded with superior wisdom, and they can return to elevate their society to the state of perfection which they themselves embody. Often the principal narrative line, which presents a sequence of adventures involving the heroes, is accompanied by numerous secondary lines of narration, each forming an episode and presenting the quest of a secondary figure.

Thus, as several centuries of tradition suggest, the conventional romance plot narrates a hero's successful

progression through a series of adventures usually motivated and rewarded by love. Frequently long and episodic, the romance plot first offers a battery of involved complications which hinder the hero's particular quest or progress. The hero's difficulties customarily entail entanglements in events and characters peripheral, if not unrelated, to his problems. They seemingly serve only to divert and delay him. Then, following the development of entanglements which for the most part involve movement over an expansive setting for an extensive time period, the romance plot comes to a swift and total resolution. The happy ending presents the solution of all problems as well as the fulfillment of the hero's quest or destiny. Lovers are reunited; familial homecomings are completed; nobility is revealed; identities are discovered, fortunes are recovered; conversions are consummated. The unraveling of the chaotic perplexities is achieved ordinarily through climactic scenes of recognition, discovery, or sudden reversals of fortune.

Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century authors and critics defended or evaluated contemporary fictional plots within a theoretical context strongly characteristic of the conventional romance plot just described. In the 1652 translator's preface to Nature's Paradox: Or, the Innocent Imposter, Major F. Wright describes the structure of this "Exquisite Romance" in terms very similar to those used

in the earlier description of medieval romance structure. Nature's Paradox has five principal parts called the "infantine, courtlie, rustick, heroick, and nuptiall" stages where the hero moves from innocence to disgrace and finally to marriage after success in war and other adventures.³⁷ Robert Boyle abstracts his 1687 romance as the rise, progress, persecution, and glorification of the love between Theodora and Didymus.³⁸ While suggesting to his illegitimate son that a novel is "a kind of abbreviation of a Romance," the Earl of Chesterfield prescribes that for this type of fiction "the subject must be a love affair; the lovers are to meet with many difficulties and obstacles to oppose the accomplishment of their wishes, but at last overcome them all; and the conclusion or catastrophe must leave them happy."³⁹ In his preface to his translation of the Memoirs of the Count Du Beauval by the Marquis D'Argens, Samuel Derrick sketches the series of actions which serve as the "Ground-work of Romances":

The principal Hero was generally one who fac'd every Danger, without any Reflection, for it was always beneath him to think; it was a sufficient Motive of persisting, if there seem'd Peril; conquering Giants, and dissolving Enchantments, were as easy to him as riding. He commonly sets out deeply in Love; his Mistress is a Virgin, he loses her in the Beginning of the Book, thro' the Spite or Craft of some malicious Neocromancer, pursues her thro' a large Folio Volume of Incredibility, and finds her, indisputably, at the End of it, like try'd Gold, still more charming, from having pass'd the Fire Ordeal of Temptation.⁴⁰

Likewise, Arthur Murphy examines the action of Tom Jones in terms of progress, complication, and a happy ending:

. . . it turns upon a single event, attended with many circumstances, and many subordinate incidents, which seem, in the progress of the work, to perplex, to entangle, and to involve the whole in difficulties, and lead on the reader's imagination, with an eagerness of curiosity, through scenes of prodigious variety, till at length the different intricacies and complications of the fable are explained after the same gradual manner in which they had been worked up to a crisis: incident arises out of incident; the seeds of every thing that shoots up, are laid with a judicious hand, and whatever occurs in the latter part of the story, seems naturally to grow out of these passages which preceded; so that, upon the whole, the business with great propriety and probability works itself up into various embarrassments, and then afterwards, by a regular series of events, clears itself of all impediments, and brings itself inevitably to a conclusion; like a river, which, in its progress, foams amongst fragments of rocks, and for awhile seems pent up by unsurmountable oppositions; then angrily dashes for awhile, then plunges underground into caverns, and runs a subterraneous course, till at length it breaks out again, meanders round the country, and with a clear placid stream flows gently into the ocean.⁴¹

The similarity between the critical delineation of seventeenth-century romance plots such as Camus's Iphigenes and Boyle's Theodora and Didymus, and the plot of Fielding's Tom Jones should not be considered as isolated or coincidental. In fact, as has been documented by English Showalter, Jr., one of the great ironies in the eighteenth-century critics' obsession with clear distinctions between genres is that at the beginning the differences between novel and romance were at best superficial and vague.⁴²

As a result, the two forms remained so close together that novel seemed to mean only a short romance.

Many critics throughout the eighteenth-century have remarked upon or made connections between romances and eighteenth-century fiction. For Charles Gildon, the nature of the fable, story and application of every incident in Defoe's Robinson Crusoe made it a romance.⁴³ The London Magazine found Tom Jones to be a modern romance of some merit although it censured the reigning taste in May, 1749, for romances.⁴⁴ Albrecht von Haller gave Clarissa the "first rank among romances."⁴⁵ Comparing Richardson's work favorably with Jean Desmarets, sieur de Saint Sorlen's Ariane (1632) and Madame de Lafayette's The Princess of Cleves (1678), the Swiss physician and writer of philosophical romances cites the perpetual curiosity excited and gratified by the urgent movement from one event to another and the elevated and animated descriptions of the horrible death of the profligate Belton, Clarissa's suffering during her imprisonment, and her noble defense against the attempts of Lovelace as the romance's chief ornaments.⁴⁶ Francis Coventry in the dedication to the third edition of The History of Pompey the Little (1752) seconds William Warburton's assertion that romance writing had been brought to perfection by Fielding.⁴⁷ Upon reaching the conclusion of his "On Fictitious History" (1762), Hugh Blair considers the works of Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding as the

final stage of romance writing and as having assumed their form from magnificent heroic romances such as d'Urfe's Astraea and Scudery's Clelia.⁴⁸ He cites Robinson Crusoe's ability to take strong hold of the imagination of all readers, Tom Jones' artful conduct of the fable, and Clarissa's unfortunate talent for spinning out pieces of amusement into an immeasurable length.⁴⁹ Both James Beattie in "On Fable and Romance" (1783) and John Moore in "A View of the Commencement and Progress of Romance" (1797) conclude their historical surveys of the history of romance with discussions of the fiction of the major eighteenth-century writers. Each writer's work is evaluated in terms of romance: although love is thought to be necessary to make a romance interesting, Robinson Crusoe is one of the most interesting narratives that ever was written;⁵⁰ the poetical arrangement of Clarissa and Sir Charles Grandison characterize them as species of Serious Romance;⁵¹ "the romance of Joseph Andrews, written in imitation of the style and manner of Cervantes, displayed much of the spirit and humour of his [Fielding's] model";⁵² and "the romances of Dr. Smollett are not so much distinguished for the invention of the story, as for strong masculine humour, just observations on life, and a great variety of original characters."⁵³

Evidence affirming the correspondence of plot between romance and eighteenth-century English fiction is

not restricted to critical musings. An examination of the works of Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding discloses the substantial presence of traditional conventions of the romance plot. By this examination I do not intend to suggest that the recognition of conventional romance plot elements provides an adequate representation of the various works to be considered. That would be foolhardy. There is obviously much of what the eighteenth-century reader perceives as "some interesting minuteness" and the "faithful and chaste copy of real Life and Manners" and what the twentieth-century critic emphasizes as the particular, the circumstantial, and the realistic in these works.

There is much experiment with the romance conventions and in some cases reversals of them. And there are other genres such as biography, history, and satire also contributing to the plots of eighteenth-century fiction. In an effort to adjust the overzealous emphasis upon novel and "life," one does not want to substitute an equally zealous emphasis upon romance and "pattern." Rather than appear to oversimplify or to force the plots into a mold, I merely wish to suggest that the overall plot of eighteenth-century fiction is the romance plot from hardship to virtue rewarded, making use of similar testing patterns, devices, and conventions, and often equally concerned with love.

Daniel Defoe's fiction probably reflects the most

pervasive presence of other genres and of experimentation with the romance conventions. From the picaresque to spiritual autobiography, from the roman galant to criminal biography, Defoe's works contain a veritable potpourri of literary traditions and genres which have been well documented.⁵⁴

Nevertheless, there are numerous features throughout Defoe's fiction which are traditionally in romance plots. In The Life, Adventures, and Pyracies of the Famous Captain Singleton (1720),⁵⁵ in The History and Remarkable Life of the Truly Honourable Colonel Jacque (1722),⁵⁶ and in The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders (1722),⁵⁷ there is a main character who is an orphan that possesses something to indicate his or her status as a hero or heroine. Captain Singleton was kidnapped as a two year old boy while "very well dress'd" and with a nursery maid; Colonel Jack was "born a gentleman" but given to a nurse for care; Moll Flanders had the desire to be a gentlewoman although she was the daughter of a condemned felon. Each character's story presents the types of trials and hardships that a romance character must suffer through before his virtue is rewarded. The conventional plot devices which contribute to the hardships of Captain Singleton, Colonel Jack, and Moll Flanders include: kidnappings, pirates, storms, imprisonment, slavery, mutinies, a multiplicity of spouses, and threats of death. As part

of this testing pattern, each character as hero or heroine must travel over an expansive, if not fabulous, landscape. Captain Singleton travels through Africa, Europe, South America, and the Orient; Colonel Jack finds himself in the West Indies; Moll Flanders' intrigues send her through seventy years of travel from England to Virginia, from London to Liverpool and Bath.

As in the conventional romance plot, the movement to an escape from the hardships and to virtue rewarded in Defoe's fiction is usually entrusted to fortuitous occurrences, providential accidents, and remarkable coincidences. In Captain Singleton, the sudden death of a slave captain, an unsuccessful mutiny, the unexpected changes in the weather, chance meetings of various white men in Africa, and appearances of the devil and God in dreams are events which typically allow the captain to love another day, to trade another day, and to reflect another day. In Colonel Jack, the death of a nurse, repeated chance meetings of a pickpocket friend, a missed appointment, a mistaken arrest, a chance meeting on a stage, a rescue from pirates, and a fortunate shipwreck are among those events which expedite a waif's career. Moll Flanders also receives similar assistance with such events as convenient deaths, coincidental meetings of long-lost relatives, and the chance restoration of an inheritance.

While still acknowledging the pervasive presence

of other traditions in Defoe's fiction, one recognizes the romance plot's conventional endings in Captain Singleton, Colonel Jack, and Moll Flanders. With various coincidences and accidents, Captain Singleton's despair and unhappy life are alleviated with his repentance and the subsequent attainment of financial well-being, the return to England, and his marriage to his guide's sister. The fortunate wreck of a sloop and a release from prison secured through uncommon friendship occasion reflections upon "a long ill-spent life" by Colonel Jack. These penitent reflections are followed by an unexpected opportunity to return to England as a wealthy man and to be reunited with his faithful wife. Moll's repentance likewise prefaces a series of coincidences and accidents that end with a reunion with a long lost son, with getting a steady substantial income, with establishing a flourishing plantation, with the making public of a secret marriage of love, and with the return to England, happy, healthy, and prosperous.

His novels striving to "engage the Passions of every sensible Reader, and strongly interest them in the edifying Story," Samuel Richardson relies on an arrangement, selection, and interrelationship of action and incidents which closely resemble romance in Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded.⁵⁸ A long and twisting plot unfolds with a series of episodes dealing with the trials, tribulations, and vexations of a "virgin beset." Luciferian Squire B. is a rake who

employs common romance devices in his effort to seduce the besieged heroine. Strategies involving stolen letters, changed locks, secret messages, disguises, imprisonment, and surprise attacks abound throughout the struggle between Pamela and B. The progress of this conflict is marked by kidnappings, matchmaking attempts, robbery, futile escape efforts, letter mixups, threats of torture, ideas of a sham marriage, and a secret wedding. The rapid succession of plots and tricks is full of references to gypsies, witchcraft, enchantment, sorcery, fortune telling, confidantes, and characters such as Monsieur Colbrand whose literary antecedent is a Danish giant in Guy of Warwick.

He is a giant of a man for stature; taller by a good deal than Harry Mowlidge, in your neighbourhood, and large boned, and scraggy; and has a hand! -- I never saw such an one in my life. He has great staring eyes, like the bull's that frightened me so; vast jawbones sticking out: eyebrows hanging over his eyes; two great scars upon his forehead, and one on his left cheek; and two large whiskers, and a monstrous wide mouth blubber lips; long yellow teeth, and a hideous grin. He wears his own frightful long hair, tied up in a great black bag; a black crape neckcloth about a long ugly neck; and his throat sticking out like a wen.
(p. 174)

So many characters are entangled in Pamela's dreadful trials and test of virtue that a major reversal would be required to resolve the entanglements. The reversal, of course, is Squire B.'s "happy change" and Pamela's decision to return. Moved by the Heroine's letters and behavior, B. becomes Pamela's dear master, kind friend,

generous benefactor, worthy protector, and affectionate husband. From the role of the romance rake, B. is equally outstanding as the romance hero who with his "honey flowing mouth of love" proclaims to the "princess" and "angel" he marries:

. . . My heart is too full of it to express myself as I ought. But I am sorry you have had such a fatiguing time of it. -- Life is no life without you! If you had refused me, and yet I had hardly hopes you would oblige me, I should have had a severe fit of it, I believe; for I was taken very oddly, and knew not what to make of myself: but now I shall be well instantly. You need not, Mrs. Jewkes, added he, send for the doctor from Stamford, as we talked yesterday; for this lovely creature is my doctor, as her absence is my disease. (p. 268)

He comes to esteem her more than "the highest-born lady in the kingdom."

Pamela's is a decisive victory. Moving from "prison to palace," she is rewarded for her heroic preservation of virtue with marriage and social elevation. Clearly it is the progress of pattern of the conventional romance plot. From frightful interviews, tears, faintings, and the thoughts of suicide, the servant girl rises to her level of merit as a gracious hostess and charitable lady of the house.

Clarissa, Or, the History of a Young Lady (1748) is like Pamela in its resemblance to the traditional romance plot.⁵⁹ Clarissa is a "virgin beset" by a villain, rake, and dragon who says he loves her and by a family

that says they want the best for her. The result is a series of arduous trials and unrelenting tests of virtue. Romance plot elements dominate the presentation of Clarissa's hardships. The conflict between honor and duty, the rejection of suitors, and the jealousies of unknown rivals place Clarissa in an untenable position between vigorous familial opposition and the clever intrigues of a rake. The ploys of each side are conventionally romance; they include: intercepted letters, faked letters, imprisonment, banishment, spies, disguises, duplicate keys, feigned illnesses, duel, and threats. Clarissa's strategies in response are as conventional. They include secret correspondence, confidantes, fainting, escape attempts, secret rendezvous, and resignation to Providence.

As is customary in romance plots, the long and twisting plot in Clarissa concludes with the appropriate reward of virtue and punishment of vice. Resigning herself to Providence, the heroine beset chooses future over temporal hopes. Her coffin becomes her palace as she dies and becomes a divine creature through the grace of God. In contrast, Lovelace lives in "a cursed way." Finally he leaves England and is killed in a duel by Clarissa's champion Morden. Notably, the unreformed rake suffers overnight with his fatal wound and dies without benefit of the church. His suffering will last much longer than those accounted for in the appended conclusion "supposed

to be written by Mr. Belford."

Most assuredly, Richardson's fiction also presents variants from the romance tradition of plot. The first person narration provides an opportunity for a psychological realism not often found in romances. Squire B.'s reversal occurs half way through Pamela rather than as part of a sudden total resolution common to most romance plots. In Clarissa there is neither a sudden reversal nor a quick resolution to the plot at all. Richardson's story moves slowly and carefully to the rewarding of virtue and the punishing of vice. In fact, Clarissa's story does not have an ordinary romance happy ending at all. Literally, she neither reclaims her family estate, nor is reunited with her family. She does not marry and live happily everafter. (That the work ends happily, it seems to me, is presented in theme rather than plot. The consummation of love and marriage inherent to the romance tradition is Clarissa's symbolic union with God.) Nevertheless, although much is taking place in Richardson's fiction besides the romance tradition, it seems that the over-all plots are romance plots.

Fielding's fiction is more obvious in its resemblance to romance plots. The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews, and of his Friend Mr. Abraham Adams. Written in Imitation of the Manner of Cervantes, Author of Don Quixote (1742) is the story of two virgins who have their

chastity constantly threatened while they attempt to fulfill their love in marriage.⁶⁰ In a series of "surprising," "full," "delightful," "curious," "tragical," and "bloody" adventures, Joseph Andrews and Fanny are subjected to the ordinary obstacles of the romance hero and heroine. Storms drive them repeatedly from their quest into inns ripe with tangential episodes. Attempted robberies and rapes give rise to battles "never equalled by any poet, romance or life-writer whatever" (p. 293) and to subsequent appellations of "champion," "conqueror," "deliverer," and "prince" for him who came to the aid of the "damsel." The heroine's and hero's quest and journey are filled with entanglements perpetuated by the seductive designs of those such as Lady Booby and the hunting squire. Kidnappings, bribery, exploitation, and temptations appear at nearly every bend of the road as Joseph and his companions seemingly criss-cross England on every available route. A myriad of actual or imaginary monsters (III. vi - Adams' fight with dogs), ghosts (III. ii - sheep stealers), and enemies are matched by miraculous recoveries (I. xvi - Joseph in the inn), coincidental and fortunate meetings (II. x - Adams' defense of Fanny), and heroic responses to dangers (IV. v - Squire B. at Joseph's and Fanny's trial).

But as the title character in any romance plot, Joseph Andrews is equal to the test. The narrator characterizes the hero in telling terms at the beginning of

Chapter VIII, Book I:

Mr. Joseph Andrews was now in the one and twentieth year of his age. He was of the highest degree of middle stature. His limbs were put together with great elegance and no less strength. His legs and thighs were formed in the exactest proportion. His shoulders were broad and brawny, but yet his arms hung so easily, that he had all the symptoms of strength without the least clumsiness. His hair was of a nut-brown colour, and was displayed in wanton ringlets down his back. His forehead was high, his eyes dark, and as full of sweetness as of fire. His nose a little inclined to the Roman. His teeth white and even. His lips full, red, and soft. His beard was only rough on his chin and upper lip; but his cheeks, in which his blood glowed, were overspread with a thick down. His countenance had a tenderness joined with a sensibility inexpressible. Add to this the most perfect neatness in his dress, and an air, which to those who have not seen many noblemen, would give an idea of nobility. (p. 93)

With the help of his friends, gypsies from the past, a strawberry mark, and an extraordinary conglomeration of extenuating circumstances, Joseph Andrews experiences a series of reversals and recognitions which accomplish a general resolution to the lover's difficulties. Mistaken identities are clarified; fears of incestual love are eradicated; fathers and estates are gained; the hero and the heroine are allowed "to enjoy the private rewards of their constancy" through marriage. With the sudden elevation of the hero and the successful conclusion of a quest based upon devoted love for a damsel of "a natural gentility," a line of action is completed that is dominated by the conventions, devices, and elements common to the romance plot.

The History of Tom Jones, A Foundling (1749) follows a familiar pattern.⁶¹ A beggarly bastard "born to be hanged" falls in love with Sophia, the only daughter of Squire Western. She is characteristically described as a paragon of celebrated appearance (everything from truest symmetry, black luxuriant hair, and exactly regular nose to a whiteness no lilies, ivory or alabaster could match, two rows of ivory teeth, and a dimple in her right oval cheek; [III. ii. 116-119]), sweetness of temper, a perfection of the mind. Their marriage is opposed because of Tom's birth and lack of fortune; Blifil is to be forced upon Sophia. Because of these and other mitigating circumstances, Tom is exiled and Sophia runs away. As the foundling's journey becomes a quest for his lost love, he becomes entangled in episodes with soldiers, "ghosts," thieves, murderers, run-aways, gypsies, and nobility. Possessing the tell-tale whiteness of skin and expounding his passion in secret love letters typical of the romance hero, Tom naturally becomes involved in episodes of rescue (Mrs. Waters from Northerton), honor (accusations against Sophia by Northerton), amours (Lady Bellastin, Arabella Hunt, and Nightingale), and intrigue (Harriet Fitzpatrick's schemes, Dowling's part in Blifil's plot and Lady Bellastin's plans for Sophia and Lord Fellamar). Sophia as the heroine is tested by the assaults of her guardian Mrs. Western and the attempts upon her virtue by

men such as Lord Fellamar. Both are entangled in a plot complicated by storms, being lost, disguises, disloyal confidantes, inaccurately reported deaths, and mistaken identities. The difficulties of characters such as Nancy Miller and Jack Nightingale and the Fitzpatricks also contribute to the problems which must be solved before Tom can marry Sophia. But solved they are. Fitzpatrick is not dead; Square makes restitution on his deathbed; Dowling is discovered with the press-gang and confesses; Mrs. Waters reveals her true identity and other considerable pertinent information. As a result, Tom is freed from prison, exonerated of incest, and restored to his birthright. He is reconciled with Allworthy and successfully obtains his "lost treasure." Such is the happy ending that "there is not a Neighbour, a Tenant or a Servant who doth not most gratefully bless the Day when Mr. Jones was married to his Sophia" (XVIII. "Chapter the Last." 761). Thus, again concludes a plot ripe with the elements of romance.

Exquisite distresses, extraordinary incidents, and various accidents occur frequently as "passions spin the plot" in Fielding's Amelia (1751).⁶² The union of Booth and Amelia is threatened and tested many, many times in a highly intricate plot which includes everything from false imprisonment of the hero to shipwrecks during a storm at sea. It seems like each trial resembles a typi-

cal romance plot element or uses a device common to romances. The basic line of action relates the constant separation of the hero and heroine. Prison, war, and debt makes Booth's life miserable as he strives for serenity and happiness with "the only mistress of [his] affections," the "deity he adores" (II. ii.83). His quest to maintain the union is obstructed by such things as illicit sexual advances (Miss Matthews) and mistaken identities (Colonel Bath and Colonel James). On the other hand, he is assisted by fortuitous events common in romances such as interceptions of revealing letters, false reports of his death (which lead to Miss Matthew's confession), and a narration of Molly Bennet's history (which coincidentally reveals Mrs. Ellison's strategy with the lord against Amelia). Amelia also suffers the tribulations common to romance plotting. A gauntlet of trials and intrigues subject the "blaze of beauty's" chastity to repeated assaults in the persons of Mrs. Ellison's lord and Colonel James who attempt to "lead this poor lamb, as it were, to the slaughter" (VIII. viii. 248). Golden trinkets, masquerades, a portrait gilded in gold and diamonds, secret correspondence, and confidantes are all instruments of the many lovers' campaigns.

With its love protestations ('O! it is indeed my Alphonso, my only Alphonso!' [I. v. 103]), courtly love-sickness (XI. vi. 202-203), generally courtly associations

(characters such as the Lord and behavior like the dueling), and allusions reminiscent of romance (II. vii. 245-6), there is little anxiety over the ultimate conclusion of Fielding's Amelia. Recognizing conventions and the rhetoric of romance, one expects the deathbed confessions, the discovery and correction of earlier wrongs, the conversion of Booth, the awarding of an estate to Amelia, and the ultimate unequalled marital serenity of both the hero and the heroine.

There is further evidence to substantiate an intimate connection of romance with eighteenth-century fiction. For instance, Biddy Tipkins, in The Tender Husband (1705), speaks to the subject of heroines' names:

How often Madame, must I desire you to lay aside that familiar name, Cousin Biddy? I never hear it without blushing -- did you ever meet with a heroine in those idle romances as you call 'em, that was termed Biddy? . . . No, the heroine has always something soft and engaging in her name, something that gives us a notion of the sweetness of her beauty and behaviour, a name that glides through half a dozen tender syllables, as Elismonda, Clidamira, Deidamira, that runs upon vowels off the tongue. . . .⁶³

Ian Watt notes that the primary diagnostic of such names is the ending in "--a" or "--ia."⁶⁴ A glance over subsequent fiction reveals examples of the romance heroine's names such as Roxana, Pamela, Clarissa, Clementina, Leonora, Lindamira, Sophia, and Amelia. Even more significant is the fact that Roxana is also the name of a female adversary to the love of Oroondates and Statira in La

Calprenede's very popular seventeenth-century heroic romance Cassandre (1642-1650; English translation 1676); Pamela is also the name of Sidney's heroine of simple innocence and artless beauty in his Arcadia; Clarissa is the name of Huon's sister in Huon of Bordeaux, of a principal character in the 1737 romance The History of Clorana, the beautiful Arcadian, or Virtue Rewarded, and of a female in Madame Scudery's La Clelia (1654-60; English translation, 1656-61); and Lindamira is also the heroine's name from the section "The Jealous Lover" in Scudery's Artamene ou le Grand Cyrus (1649-53; English translation, 1653; separate publication of an altered "The Jealous Lover" as The Adventures of Lindamira, 1702). Sophia and Amelia are recognized as being by far the commonest names for romance heroines.⁶⁵

Further justification for supposing a closer connection between eighteenth-century fiction and romance is the attention the writers themselves draw to romance in their own fiction. Daniel Defoe, in the sequel and continuation to Robinson Crusoe, refers in each preface to the fact that his previous work has been attacked as romance. This provides an opportunity for Defoe to defend and recommend invention to wise and good men⁶⁶ and to cite a parallel with Don Quixote as an example of the worth and validity of an imaginary story.⁶⁷ The opening statement of Defoe's preface to Moll Flanders also evokes

the spectre of romance, and the closing declaration in Colonel Jack's preface is most straightforward in its defense of romance:

A book founded on so useful a Plan, calculated to answer such valuable Purposes as have been Specified, can require no Apology: Nor Relation of real Facts, or whether the Hero of it intended to present us, at least in part, with a moral Romance: On either Supposition it is equally Serviceable for the Discouragement of Vice, and the Recommendation of Virtue.⁶⁸

Furthermore, the connection of Defoe's fiction and romance is not restricted to prefatory strategy. Roxana, for example, demonstrates authorial self-consciousness when she observes in one stage of her narration that "it would look a little too much like a Romance here, to repeat all the kind things he [the Prince] said to me, on that Occasion" (p. 72).

Fielding's attention to romance is both prefatory and internal to his fiction. His discussion of romance in the preface to Joseph Andrews is well known,⁶⁹ but also noteworthy is the citation of romance titles such as Telemachus, Clelia, Cleopatre, Astraea, Cassandra, and The Grand Cyrus and the titular assertion of his imitation of the manner of Cervantes. References to or listing of romances appear in each book of Joseph Andrews, whether it be in calling Guy, Earl of Warwick, Argalus and Parthenia, or The Champions of Christendom biographies (I. i. 74) or in contrasting the book's philosophical reflections to those

found in "any light French Romance" (IV. vii). Fielding also draws attention to romance and his writing by comparing his treatment of love (I. xi. 104) or a prodigious battle (III. vi. 293) with that of a romance writer.

In Tom Jones, Fielding's primary device for invoking an awareness of romance is critical commentary in the opening chapters of each book. In Book I, for example, he compares his subject and the subjects of all romances, novels, plays, and poems; in Book IV he takes great pains to distinguish the truth of his writings from the nonhistorical idle romances and then proceeds to defend at great length poetical embellishments, elevation of style, ornamental parts, and the introduction of a hero in an extravagant martial spirit; and in Book XIII, during his invocation to the Love of Fame, Fielding gives a greater recognition to the power of "Monsieur Romance" than to history, poetry, comedy, or tragedy. Also interesting is the dedication to George Lyttleton where Fielding states: ". . . Sir, without your assistance this history had never been completed. Be not startled at the assertion. I do not intend to draw on you the suspicion of being a romance writer." Whether or not one construes this as evidence that Fielding considered Tom Jones a romance is inconsequential. What is important, it seems to me, is that this dedicatory epistle represents one of Fielding's first

opportunities to get the reader thinking of romance while reading Tom Jones. Finally, in Book IX there appears to be a capsule statement of Fielding's "different idea of Romance":

Hence we are to derive that universal Contempt, which the World, who always denominate the Whole from the Majority, have cast on all historical Writers, who do not draw their Materials from Records. And it is the Apprehension of this Contempt, that hath made us so cautiously avoid the Term Romance, a Name with which we might otherwise have been well enough contented.
(IX. i. 371-372)

Perhaps, as Dieter Schulz has suggested, the polemics of Fielding and others were aimed at the excesses of several romance writers rather than at romance itself.⁷⁰

Fielding was "well enough contented" to affiliate himself with the concept of romance, and those romances which he deemed successful. For example, in Amelia he has Mrs. Atkinson describe to Amelia Colonel James' tender, delicate passion for someone other than his wife, namely Amelia. After alluding to Pylades and Orestes and Damon and Pythias, Mrs. Atkinson tries once more to convince the incredulous heroine:

"Did he not then," said Mrs. Atkinson, "repeat the words, the finest woman in the world, more than once? did he not make use of an expression which might have become the mouth of Oroonates himself? If I remember, the words were these -- that, had he been Alexander the Great, he should have thought it more glory to have wiped off a tear from the bright eyes of Statira than to have conquered fifty worlds."

(VIII. vii. 246)

Oroondates, Alexander, and Statira are the major figures in La Calprenede's Cassandre which, as has been noted previously, was one of the most popular seventeenth-century French heroic romances in England. Clearly, it is more than Pamela who has had her head turned by romances.

II. ROMANCE AS ORDER IN VARIETY

Modern readers generally find romances to be digressive and rambling works lacking cohesive unity. From their point of view romances lack "proportion," "logical correlation," and "causal connection." This dissatisfaction with the romance writer's combination and ordering of parts reflects the nineteenth- and twentieth-century readers' predisposition to a novelistic conception of unity. They expect a singleness of vision and an intensity of focus. A singleness of vision and intensity of focus represent to them a "realistic" alternative to an impossible task of presenting a comprehensive vision of reality. The novel emphasizes what Joyce Cary terms "truth with an angle."⁷¹ It provides a narrow perspective where the subjective, personal, and individual vision of the character and his actions orders the work, its meaning, and its value. Character development in a dynamic panorama of actual life is the central and therefore shaping focus for the novel. The correspondence between life and literature consists in an uninterrupted, causally developed dis-

covery of character (and therefore personal order) through a relatively cohesive thread of events. The novel construes unity in terms of causal continuity and connections cohesively and straightforwardly developed within restricted and particular loci of time and place. The novelist, for the sake of an uninterrupted drive to an individual ordering of experience as well as verisimilitude, attempts to disguise his presence as much as possible.

The romance writer, on the other hand, considered his work unified in spite of what would appear to the modern reader as digressive and rambling works. His conception of unity repeats a seventeenth- and eighteenth-century commonplace of universal order:

Here Hills and Vales, the Woodland and the Plain,
 Here Earth and Water seem to strive again,
 Not Chaos-like together crush'd and bruis'd,
 But as the World, harmoniously confus'd:
 Where Order in Variety we see,
 And where, tho' all things differ, all agree.
 ("Windsor Forest," 11-16)

Rather than a novelistic dependence upon characterization or a thread of events, romance writers develop Order in Variety as the unifying principle for their works. The romance is a potpourri of complicated structures that tend toward one end, however remote that end may seem. Suggestive of "Creation's ample range," this potpourri includes digressions and interpolations. The order unifying this variety is produced through the conscious and conspicuous attention to rhetorical display and authorial design.

To bring the whole together the romance writers exercised a more conscious display of themselves than they might otherwise have done. Unity is in their artistry and their ordering of the parts into a whole. As a defining attribute of romance, Order in Variety underscores the genre's affirmation by intention and convention of a comprehensive world view and of the fictive values of "pattern."

This concept of Order in Variety as a convention of romance unity has a long tradition. From classical Greece to eighteenth-century England, writers shared this common ground in the conventions and intentions of romance unity. As products of professional rhetoricians, the Greek romances by calculation are complicated structures reflecting a conscious display of art. Rather than conceiving of romance as structurally disproportionate, disorganized, and diseased, the Greeks expected a "looseness of fabric" in a literary form instructive and entertaining in its conspicuous rhetorical display.⁷²

Greek romance abounds with a variety of disputations, monologues, letters, descriptions, narrations, and tales. They interrupt and retard the plot so much that any idea of a novelistic development of plot is out of the question. They appear as obvious insertions and demonstrations of the author's creative invention. Rather than examples of artistic failure, this variety of material

represents the intentional and conventional interest in diversity and elaboration. The Greek romance writers sought to surprise with the paradoxical, the bizarre, the inconsistent, and the self-contradictory. They emphasized the picturesque, the rhetorical, and the fanciful. Rather than seeing their romances work out inexorably through tight bonds of causation, Greek romance writers imitated a conception of life as a series of spectacles and emotions. They entertained as well as imitated through embellishment and narration characterized by multiple parallelisms, contrasts, and interests.

Over the several centuries of medieval romance, the demand for rhetorical embellishment continued to weigh heavily in the consideration of structure.⁷³ In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the measure of artistry was the ability not to invent new stories, but to build up sequences out of the existing ones. The purpose was the elaboration and transmission of inherited material. Romances played an immense role in the constantly growing tendency towards narrative coalescence, or the process whereby an increasingly large number of hitherto independent narrative themes adhere to each other so as to form larger and more fully co-ordinated sequences.⁷⁴ As Eugene Vinaver surmises, "It is invariably part of a much more elaborate design -- one of a number of threads in a vast woven fabric. Each of these threads is caught in a movement which reflects

the deeper aspirations of narrative form, its final and triumphant flowering. A complex network of themes stretches over the richly decorated volumes in which Arthurian romances have come down to us."⁷⁵

Those who took it upon themselves "to exploit and expand the legacy" of thirteenth-century romance illustrated the scholastic principle of manifestatio in their narrative method. Their method consisted of forging links between originally independent episodes, or establishing, or at least suggesting, relationships between previously unrelated themes, and of emphasizing systematic and careful elucidation.⁷⁶ The concept of romance as a complex network of elaborations, digressions, and plots generally unified as a whole reflected and imitated the world as a vast and varied order continuously and constantly unfolding.

Romance as a reflection and imitation of the medieval world order intimates another pattern of structure evident in medieval romance -- analogy. This pattern of structure was "based on the belief that the universe formed an ordered structure of such a kind that the pattern of the whole was reproduced in the pattern of the parts, and that inferences from one category of phenomena to the other were therefore valid methods of approach for the understanding of either."⁷⁷ Repetitions, parallels, contrasts, recurrences, and reappearances were seen as skillful and

significant manifestations of a rhetorician's art. Different approaches to the understanding of a subject were allowed and sometimes even required of a successful rhetorician.

For romance writers such as Gottfried von Strassburg and Marie de France, then, their task was "to reveal the meaning of the story, adding to it such embellishing thoughts as he (or she) considers appropriate."⁷⁸ By doing this they believed the romance would be raised to a level of distinction which no straightforward narration could ever reach. As the Greek romance writers, they favored variety through digression and embellishment and found unity through the ordering quality of rhetoric.⁷⁹

In the opening lines of Erec et Enide, Chretien de Troyes further indicates how medieval romance writers viewed their own work and how they thought their readers should approach it:

Since in his opinion it is reasonable that everyone should always endeavor to speak well and teach the right things, Chretien de Troyes draws ('tret') from a tale of adventure ('d'un conte d'aventure') a very fine conjointure ('une mout belle conjointure'), whereby it may be proved and made known that he is not wise who does not use his learning so long as God gives him grace.⁸⁰

The whole story is conceived on two distinct levels: that of the conte d'aventure and that of the conjointure. It is the conjointure -- or the cohesion of parts, relevance of detail, and harmonious planning of narrative structure --

that is perhaps the single most essential element of the traditional romance. There is no sense of discomfort in the tension between conte and conjointure; rather it represents a medieval conception of composition whereby the delicate balancing of story and arrangement turns "a mere tale of adventure into a romance."⁸¹

Influenced by classical and medieval exemplars as well as ever-present epic criticism, Renaissance romance writers such as Tasso, Cervantes, and Sidney were also cognizant of the highly complex disposition of romance structure.⁸² In both the writing and criticism of romances, they consciously endeavored to tie themselves to Aristotelian principles. The Renaissance writers acknowledged unity in the presentation of a single action and variety in the incorporation of subordinate material. Romances were expected to employ interruptions and fragmentations of the major narrative thread for the sake of holding the reader in suspense and arousing admiration through variety. A sense of order was achieved in their eyes with the unity of each division and with the interconnection of the divisions. Form in romance was the sum of all the parts. With "decent proportion" and "orderly construction," divisions and interpolated matter were seen to highlight a romance's essential unity and variety. As with medieval romance, artistic coherence for the maze of narrative threads and digressive materials was sought in rhetoric

with such principles as analogy and recurrence.

Seventeenth-century romances exhibit similar structural conventions and intentions as are apparent in classical, medieval, and Renaissance romance.⁸³ Familiar with earlier romances, seventeenth-century authors were absorbed in the dual demands of variety and order. They saw romance as having to "be compos'd with Art and Elegance, lest it should appear to be a rude undigested Mass, without Order or Beauty."⁸⁴ These demands had been and were to be fulfilled by a unity of Order in Variety. For this unity to a seventeenth- and eighteenth-century author, a composition

. . . must be limited to some one great action or event, to the illustration of which all the subordinate events must contribute; and these must be so connected with one another, as well as with the poet's general purpose, that one cannot be changed, transposed, or taken away, without affecting the consistence and stability of the whole. In itself an incident may be interesting, a character well drawn, a description beautiful; and yet, if it disfigure the general plan, or if it obstruct or incumber the main action, instead of helping it forward, a correct artist would consider it as but a gaudy superfluity or splendid deformity; like a piece of scarlet cloth sowed upon a garment of a different colour. Not that all the parts of the fable either are, or can be, equally essential. Many descriptions and thoughts, of little consequence to the plan, may be admitted for the sake of variety; and the poet may, as well as the historian and philosopher, drop his subject for a time, in order to take up an affecting or instructive digression. . . . in estimating their [poetical digressions and episodes] propriety, three things are to be attended to: their connection with the fable or subject -- their own peculiar excellence; -- and their subserviency to the poet's design.

By explicit statement and implicit practice, romance writers as will be seen, established Order in Variety as a unifying principle which helps define the conventions and intentions of romance structure.

The interpolation of material is probably the most prominent characteristic of the traditional romance structure duplicated in the seventeenth century. Interpolations are independent segments that are obvious insertions into a romance's main action. They are fictional segments recounting adventures, lives, and anecdotes of characters totally spurious or only vaguely connected with the main action. As interpolations their usually pervasive presence serves only to interrupt, complicate, and retard anything resembling a tightly and causally developed plot. They provide neither background nor exposition because their focus is upon those peripheral; they contribute to the variety common to the romance's vast canvas.

Honore d'Urfe's Astraea (1608-1626), for example, contains thirty-three relatively separable episodes which are "either pastoral in their character like the main story, or deal with the lives of nymphs in similar manner, or are tales involving magic, or finally, are stories of war like adventure."⁸⁶ Madeleine de Scudery's Ibrahim, or the Illustrious Bassa (1641) includes nearly a dozen "histories" which are set off in eighteen separate narrations spread throughout the twenty books of the four-part romance.⁸⁷

Almahide (1660-1663), in contrast to Ibrahim, has only one of its five interpolated narratives divided and scattered.⁸⁸ The histories of Zelebin and Galiane, of Abenamin and Lindarache, of Abdalla and Fatime, and of Abindarrays and Akdoradine are all told by the slave Fernand de Solis in single, separate sittings on Don Roderic's request. Only the history of Morayzel, Semahis, Almandam, Almahide, Ponce de Leon, and d'Alvare is interrupted and spread out. La Calprenede's Cassandre (1642-1650) and Paramond (1661-70) are similar to Mme. de Scudery's romances as examples of interpolative structure. Divided into five parts with six books in each part, Cassandre incorporates eighteen interruptions of the central action by another narrative thread.⁸⁹ The histories of Oroondates, Statira, Berenice, and Roxana are presented in a series of sequels, while the remaining interpolations are presented as complete units. Paramond uses nearly fifty shifts to or from direct and indirect narration in order to include nineteen insertions of histories or stories, five of which are told in installments.⁹⁰

The Earl of Orrery's Parthenissa (1664) is representative of the many seventeenth-century English romances which contain seemingly spurious adventure stories, characters' lives, and historical accounts that help characterize the work's total structure.⁹¹ Like John Bulteel's Birinthia (1664), John Crowne's Pandion and Amphiginia (1665),

and Eromena, or the Noble Stranger (1683), Roger Boyle's "most fam'd Romance" is divided into six parts with two to six books in each part. Besides incidental histories and short interpolated stories, the major histories of Parthenissa and Artabanus, of Artavasdes and Altezeera, of Izadora and Perolla, and of Callimachus and Statira dominate its narrative structure. As usual, the individual histories are frequently interrupted and consequently spread throughout the romance. Even the short variety of romances such as Zayde (1671) reflects a consciousness of this interpolative structure.⁹² Zayde, although a mere 367 pages, is divided into two parts. Within these two parts the romance is arranged with the separate narrations of the history of Gonsalvo, the history of Alphonso and Bellasine, the history of Don Garcia and Hermineilde, the history of Zayde and Felime, and the history of Almire. This relatively short romance appears to be primarily insertions of interpolative material. The story of the title character seems almost overwhelmed by the other histories and stories only obliquely connected to Zayde.

A second category of elements evident in earlier romances and helpful in characterizing the structure of seventeenth-century romance is the digression. As a rather broad category, the digression presents essentially non-fictional material which elaborates and embellishes the romance. Characters, narrators, and authors frequently

step back from their stories to deliver seemingly descriptive, supportive, and educational materials to the reader. They exceed by volume and frequency any normal conception of necessary exposition and are in fact usually encyclopedic additions only tenuously related to plot and character development. To be distinguished from interpolations, digressions in romance are informational rather than narrative.

One variety of digressive matter is the discourse, the debate, or the conversation on subjects which are usually only peripherally pertinent to the main action or characters. Their length may extend from wholesome paragraphs to veritable treatises. In Astraea Sylvandre and Hylas seemed to be present solely to converse, discuss, and debate every conceivable aspect of love and etiquette. Their verbal encounters abound and often judgments are rendered regarding respective issues on love. In Barclay his Argenis, or, the Loves of Polyarchus and Argenis (1621) nearly every chapter contains a political or social discourse on subjects such as the "mischiefes of a Civill Warre" (Book I. Chapter iii), "judiciall Astrologie" (Book II. Chapter xvii), the "flattery of Poets" (Book III. Chapter xiv), or the "people's abuse concerning their beliefs in Fortune and the role of Providence" (Book IV. Chapter vii).⁹³ There are more than a score of debates, discourses, and conversations touching areas

from military strategy to the devices of a thief, from religious sects to mythical anthropology. Digressive conversations were so pervasive in Artamene, or the Grand Cyrus (1649-53) and Clelia (1654-60) that Madeleine de Scudery was able to extract a five part, ten volume compilation entitled Conversations sur divers sujets (1680-1692) almost entirely from these two romances. In Artamene, or the Grand Cyrus the formal conversations are primarily in the fifth volume and range from avarice and prodigality in a lover to the fear of death, from marriage to conversation itself.⁹⁴ Clelia contains forty-nine conversations distributed through ten volumes. The most common topics are the emotions such as love, anger, sorrow, and jealousy; literature such as letter writing, poetry, and fable invention; and social behavior such as friendship, education, and mourning.⁹⁵

Although explicitly disdaining "science" and "fine discourse" and claiming that his romances have "nothing studied or delicate," even La Calprenede occasionally succumbed to the digressive habit. In Paramond (1661-70) there are more than fifty extended monologues which frequently interrupt the action. Only a few are on anything besides love. The discourses in Parthenissa (1664) are fewer in number, but broader in scope of interest. In Part I, Callimachus, for instance, speaks extensively on passion and sin (Book II) and on the respective values of

the crown of virtue over the crown of an empire (Book VI); in Part II, Blacus describes the demands of duty, religion, and human law (Book I); in Part III, Ventimus and Artavasdes debate the relative merits of monarchy and other forms of government (Book III); and in Parts V and VI fair Statira and Callimachus converse about paternal rights (Book III) and crime, punishment, and justice (Book II), respectively. Even the relatively brief The Martyrdom of Theodora and of Didymus (1687) is replete with digressive discourses. In fact, the dozen or so religious admonitions, essays, sermons, and moralizations in the romance's second part essentially dominate the narration.

Other varieties of digressive or expansive material in seventeenth-century romances are the maxim, the letter, and the poem. The number and diversity of each depends upon the length of the individual work, but few romances are without them. Too numerous to require or allow tabulation, the maxims are short, pithy adages usually dealing with love and the human condition. The letters usually vary in length and type. The most prevalent subjects are love, challenges, governmental affairs, and narrative events. They are formal, precise, and remarkably similar, and it never fails that even the longest epistles are transcribed from a character's memory following an untold number of adventures. To cite examples of the popularity of epistolary forms in romance, there are no less than

thirty-five letters in Astræe, 124 in Almahide, no less than 74 in Cassandre, and 34 in Parthenissa. Poetry is nearly as popular a digression as letters in romances. But unlike the basic uniformity of the letters, the poetry is extremely varied in form, length, and subject. It may be a sonnet or an epigram, an epithalamium or an ode. Nearly thirty specimens of verse appear in Barclay his Argenis which either describe things such as temples, groves, or lovers; mark occasions such as death, victory, or marriage; or relay messages to Venus, God, or friends. Scudery's Almahide alone contains 214 pieces of poetry in more than a dozen forms.

Not only do seventeenth-century romances exhibit the same conventions of structure as their classical, medieval, and Renaissance predecessors, they also demonstrate a conscious authorial attention to rhetorical display and design. Mme. de Scudery conceives romance writing as artistic work demanding careful attention and adherence to a set of rules and precedents.

Every Art hath its certain rules, which by infallible means lead to the ends proposed; and provided that an Architect takes his measures right, he is assured of the beauty of his Building. Believe not for all this, Reader, that I will conclude from thence my work is compleat, because I have followed the rules which may render it so: I know that it is of this labour, as of the Mathematical Sciences, where the operation may fail, but the Art doth never fail; nor do I make this discourse but to shew you, that if I have left some faults in my Book, they are the effects of my weakness, and not of my negligence.⁹⁶

In the preface to Ibrahim she describes the groundwork for her first romance's arrangement:

I have seen in those famous Romanzes of Antiquity, that in imitation of the Epique Poem there is a principal action whereunto all the rest, which reign over all the work, are fastned, and which makes them that they are not employed, but for the conducting of it to its perfection . . . It is not because the Episodes in the one, and the several Histories in the other, are not rather beauties than defects; but it is alwayes necessary, that the Addresse of him which employes them should hold them in some sort to this principal action, to the end, that by this ingenious concatenation, all the parts of them should make but one body, and that nothing may be seen in them which is loose and unprofitable. Thus the marriage of my Justiniano and his Isabella, being the object which I have proposed unto my self, I have employed all my care so to doe, that all parts of my work may tend to that conclusion; that there may be a strong connexion between them; and that, except the obstacle which Fortune opposeth to the desires of my Hero's, all things may advance, or at leastwise endeavor to advance his marriage, which is the end of my labour.⁹⁷

Moreover, while emphasizing "that well ordering is one of the principal parts of a piece," Mme. de Scudery also stresses the "artifices of Rhetorick" and ornament. In the discussion of how to write a romance in Clelia (Part IV. Book II), she urges the romance writer to remember that "diversity or variety is the soul of the World" and therefore that to create a romance with order and reason, one should imitate that "admirable variety" and disperse it through the whole work.⁹⁸

The prefatory material in La Calprenede's Cassandra (1642-50) also reveals a romance writer's conscious atten-

tion to his art. The dedicatory epistle cites the rules of a Romance as justification for the work's rich attire and its retardation of a happy ending (p. A2). La Calprenede in his preface reminds the reader of the author's close attention over ten years to exact decorum and artificial contrivance. He compares Cassandre to a work of tapestry:

Let others delight themselves with the beauties of the Original, as viewing some curious piece of Tapistry, rarely design'd in lively colours and perfect symetry, without prying into the imperfections of the wrong side, where the left-handed Figures lose the gracefulness of their natural Postures, and where the multitude of thrumbs and knots makes the work course, and the story itself but barely discernable.

(p. A3)

La Calprenede obviously felt kinship with an occupation which demanded careful design, detailed work, and a multi-tracked mind. And, as usual, the mention of beauties, colors, figures, and postures is matched with thoughts of symmetry, design, and story.

The prefaces to seventeenth-century English romances are also filled with evidence of their author's conspicuous concern for their art. Nathaniel Ingelo makes qualitative distinctions between the "chief Design," "long stories," "mixtures," "pleasing varieties," verses, "intertexture of the by-accidents," tales, and discourses in his Bentivolio and Urania (1660) and those in other inferior romances.⁹⁹ In a twenty-seven page account of his creation of The Martyrdom of Theodora and of Didymus (1687), Robert Boyle goes into great detail on the rationale behind

how he wrote his romance. He states why he divided it into two parts (one being more "Romantick," the other "Historical"); he defends the number, length, and sophistication of the discourses; he explains the emphasis on conversations over narratives. Boyle even laments the "want of Uniformity throughout, That if judg'd of by the strict Rules of Art, it ought to pass for an Irregular Piece."¹⁰⁰

Success in the conventions of romance structure and art was the accomplishment of an ordered but varied design. It was this design that translators, editors, and authors highlighted when they announced their romances. Kingsmill Long promises William Dunche that the variety and arrangement of Barclay his Argenis will delight him:

It is so full of wise and politique Discourses, and those so intermixed and seconded with pleasing accidents, so extolling Vertue and depressing Vice; that I have sometimes compared it to a greater Globe, wherein not onely the World, but even the businesse of it is represented;

(p. A3)

An anonymous editor of Parismus assures the reader he will find a "variety of excellent Passages," mixed and interwoven conquests of "Beauty, Valour, and Vertue," and various histories of the adventures of other renowned knights besides Parismus and Parisemenos.¹⁰¹ Roger Boyle gives the reader in the preface to Parthenissa a preview of his romance's complex structure. He cites the "signall, and True Historyes" of Hannibal and Spartacus which appear in

Parthenissa and then asks that the reader note the stories are not only parallel, but also serve as foils to each other. Few readers would misconstrue Boyle's soon-to-follow remark that there is much "ore" among the "dross and mettle" (p. B).

Explicit expression of the writers' consciousness of their art abounds within the romances themselves. In page after page of romance after romance, the reader's attention is directed away from the events and characters to the way the author is handling them. The reader is acutely aware of a mediator between himself and the story; the presence of authorial control is evident everywhere. Nearly every debate, discourse, or history includes reminders that the material is distinct from the main action. Constant reminders are given to insure that the reader recalls that a particular section is a debate, discourse, or private history ("Cleone would have prosecuted her narration, . . ."; "This discourse . . ."; "Don Almond followed the thred of his Discourse. . ."). Narrations are started and stopped at will, with full attention drawn to the shift. Book II of The Martyrdom of Theodora and of Didymus, for instance, begins with: "Though it may seem ill-natur'd to leave the Chast Theodora in so deplorable a Condition, yet it is requisite to do so for awhile, that we may learn what was attempted to rescue her out of it" (II. i. 7). Stories and histories are

interrupted frequently by apologies for excessive length or limited information. Plot résumés are inserted to help the reader keep up to date. Frequently comments are made to whet the reader's appetite or to foreshadow the plot or heighten the suspense. For example, the continuation of the History of Oroondates and Statira in Cassandre (Part I. Book III) beckons to its audience: "If you were touch'd by the beginning of my Discourse, I doubt not but you will be so much more, by that which yet remains to be told you." Even narrators of stories within a story exhibit authorial self-consciousness. In Zayde, Felime is extremely self-conscious as she tells the history of Almire, Prince of Tharsus: "This is, as near as I can remember, what I learnt from Mulziman. . .; and perhaps I have been too exact in my Narrative; But, you must pardon those Charms, which those that are in Love, found in the Persons whom they Love: though it may be, even upon disagreeable Subjects" (pp. 124-125). Thus, one notes in Zayde, as in most romances, little effacement of the author in the telling of his tale.

The reader is also made aware of the romance writer's craft in editing, intermixing, and limiting his subject. Repeatedly one is told how or why the author or narrator either deleted or inserted material. For instance, in the History of Gonsalvo in Zayde, the narrator defends his expansive detail: "I would not trouble you with the Particulars . . . but that you might see by the Sequel,

that it was a kind of Presage of what has since happened" (Part I, pp. 36-37). On the other hand, in relating The History of Leonida in Ibrahim, the exclusion of details is pointed to and explained: "The Adventures of Leonida have something so extraordinary in them, as they are to be related in somewhat a particular manner; for to render the recital of them the more agreeable and intelligible unto you, I am not to say anything to you yet of the beginning of her life, of her first Conquests, nor of her marriage, but only acquaint you with Alphonso's Love" (Part IV. Book II. p. 327). Again and again in the romance, one is reminded that unnecessary particulars have been deleted and that what is included is of primary importance although the importance is not evident just then to the reader. Directly and indirectly one is asked by the story teller to trust his self-proclaimed judgment. At the same time, the narrators acknowledge their use of digression and intermixed narratives. For example, La Calprenede implies at the conclusion of Cassandre the limits which shaped his romance:

The Design to which I regularly enough have tied myself not to Wander from the Banks of the Euphrates, and the Walls of Babylon, hinders me from following my Heroes in their Voyages; I will not therefore relate their fortunate successes. . . . If I were not out of my Scene, which I have limited within the confines of Babylon, and if it were not just that, after such a long-winded piece of Worke, I my self should seek that repose which I now have given to others.

(V. vi. 857-858)

La Calprenede's position is accurate and representative; the limits of romance are set only by its creator's imagination. By design, these authors championed the interpolative and digressive structure and satisfied the dual, if at times conflicting, demands of order and variety. By design they observed the rules for the composition of this particular kind of work. They did it consciously and conspicuously, and thus sustained for the eighteenth-century writer of fiction the conventions and intentions of romance to be found in the unity of Order in Variety.

When one examines contemporary eighteenth-century accounts, reviews, and essays that investigate structure in the fiction of authors like Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding, it is apparent that many readers in eighteenth-century England perceived the structure of their fiction in similar terms of Order in Variety. For instance, while attacking Robinson Crusoe for being insipid and profane, Charles Gildon notes the variety of subject and the manner of Defoe's performance.¹⁰² He grudgingly acknowledges the book's moral reflections and ornaments. Although preferring to attribute the work's expansive structure to a profit motive ("to swell the Bulk of your Treatise up to a five Shilling Book"), Gildon does record Defoe's design of having the just application of every incident, invention, or parable in the story to the whole. Others in the eighteenth century saw Order in Variety as the de-

sirable standard for structure. Few, if any, demanded a direct development restricted to a single, personal vision and tied to a causally related string of events. In a letter "To the Editor of the Piece entitled, Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded," J. B. De Fieval looks upon Richardson's work as "the hitherto much-wanted Standard or Pattern for this kind of writing."¹⁰³ One aspect which he finds admirable is the management of the "agreeable Variety of Occurrences and Characters in which it abounds" and of the "moral Reflections and Uses to be drawn from the several Parts of this Admirable History." He considers them to be "happily deduced from a Croud of different Events and Characters."

Other fiction also received praise because of its structure. A review of Tom Jones which appeared in The London Magazine commends the book's structural arrangement: "This piece, like all such good compositions, consists of a principall history, and a great many episodes or incidents; all which arise naturally from the subject, and contribute towards carrying on the chief plot or design."¹⁰⁴ Gentleman's Magazine pays high compliments to Clarissa in its June and July issues of 1749. It praises the many interesting descriptions, the movement from one event to another, the great number of characters, and the great number of reflections which are interspersed in the course of the work and which enrich it with a pleasing variety.

As well as by the excitement and gratification of a pleasing variety, Gentleman's Magazine seems most impressed that the various elements are "essentially connected with the principal action," and that they are "all sustained with an exactness, that requires the truest taste, and the most diligent attention."¹⁰⁵ The public also liked unity based upon Order in Variety. Writing to Samuel Richardson about the progress of the work dealing with what he called "your good man" (namely Sir Charles Grandison), Phillip Skelton advises the "great master" to make the character a Christian hero, to create a bad woman, and to use feigned names and disguises.¹⁰⁶ His most explicit instructions, however, are reserved for the work's structure: "Above all, consider the bulk of your readers, how grossly attached they are to facts, and adventures, and be sure to enliven the performance with plenty of subordinate events, all conspiring, and leading to the grand event or catastrophe. The main stem of your story may now and then branch into episodes; but take care that every twig grows as naturally out of the tree, and bear as much fruit, as in Clarissa."

Thus, while acknowledging their interest in probability, nature, and a "likeness to life," one should remember that the writers of eighteenth-century fiction were equally attuned to the traditional fictive values of "pattern." A conception of unity as Order in Variety was part of those values. It presumed a conventional concep-

tion of form; it emphasized the use of traditional structural devices; it resulted in a unity imitating "Creation's ample range" and a resulting moral significance (which is examined in the third section of this chapter). As a "uniformity amidst variety" conception of structure, Order in Variety represents one major convention that helped shape eighteenth-century fiction and reflects one major intention that authors shared in shaping their works. It is a convention and an intention most clearly belonging to the tradition of romance.

As with seventeenth-century and earlier romance writers, the eighteenth-century writer's pursuit of Order in Variety and articulation of this pursuit intimates, what I believe to be, their conscious desire to emphasize their endorsement of the traditional fictive values of "pattern." In their fiction and their prefaces, Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding are intent upon reminding their readers that it is art they are reading and the concern is with form, convention, and meaning more than surface texture of "life."

As with plot, to consider the structure of Defoe's fiction only in the light of romance would be to ignore other traditions which were influential. But one cannot ignore the digressive and interpolative elements and their contribution to the design of Defoe's fiction. Digressions in Defoe are as varied in content and length as Mme.

de Scudery's. For instance, Captain Singleton includes in his life and adventures commentaries dealing with science (as in salt water conversion), geography (as in Africa and the Orient), literature (as in a literary discussion of allusion to Androcles), sociology (as in the behavior of the Portugese and Japanese), and religion (as on death and repentance). Somewhat more restricted in her instructional interests, Moll Flanders takes time from her narrative to advise on, among other things, marriage, social reform, abandoned children, pickpockets, morality, and, of course, finance. Ostensibly written by an unfortunate mistress, Roxana's digressive interruptions are also reflections of the main character's interests and associations. They touch upon such subjects as fools and marriage, conscience and virtue, illegitimacy and infamy, fortune hunters and marriage, providence and murder. Although not as frequently as in the earlier romances, Defoe's fiction has maxims, letters, and quotations inserted which expand and vary the total work.

The interpolations within Defoe's fiction indicate somewhat of a retreat from the conventional romance structure. The interpolations are clearly evident. For instance, in Captain Singleton there is included the history of the Englishman in Africa, the story of Captain Avery, and the life of Captain Knox. In Colonel Jack the histories of the transported criminals and the story of Mouchat are

examples of interpolated narratives. But only Knox's story in Captain Singleton is as well developed as the conventional interpolations. Defoe seems to include a proportionate quantity of the fictional interruptions, but likewise seems reluctant to give them the scope they usually enjoyed. He tends to tie the interpolations more closely to the central action.

But whether expansive supplementary materials or impetus to narrative variety, Defoe conceived of digressions and interpolations as contributing to a general plan. For instance, Defoe attributes the success of Robinson Crusoe to "the surprizing variety of the subject" and "the agreeable Manner of the Performance." He describes the "Manner of Performance" in terms reminiscent of Order in Variety:

The just Application of every Incident, the religious and useful Inferences drawn from every Part, are so many Testimonies to the Good Design of making it publick, and must legitimate all the Part that may be call'd Invention, or Parable in the Story.

The Second Part, if the Editor's Opinion may pass, is (contrary to the Usage of Second Parts), everyway as entertaining as the First, contains as strange and surprising Incidents, and as great a Variety of them; nor is the Application less serious, or suitable; and doubtless will, to the sober, as well as ingenious Reader, be every way as profitable and diverting; and this makes the abridging this Work, as scandalous, as it is knavish and ridiculous; seeing, while to shorten the Book, that they may seem to reduce the Value, they strip it of all those Reflections, as well religious as moral, which are not only the greatest Beautys of the Work, but are calculated for the infinite Advantage of the Reader.¹⁰⁷

He is adamant in his retention and defense of this method. Along with the insistence upon tying his digressive-interpolative structure with Order in Variety, Defoe's prefaces provide the putative author an opportunity to record the care taken in dressing up the story. For example, in the Preface to Moll Flanders, the author takes extended bows for his finishing the story, putting in new words, and wrapping it up so clean.¹⁰⁸ He tells how hard put he was to apply usefully the abundance of delightful incidents, to give "a Beauty to the Penitent part," and to achieve "an agreeable turn Artfully given them [the Incidents] in the relating." Defoe draws attention to his design. Each work has a purpose and the editor and/or author have shaped each to that end.

Within Defoe's fiction itself, the putative author is ever present, and, as in seventeenth-century romance, this conscious display of the author indicates a unity through the artistry and not through the thread of events or the characterization per se. The mediator between the reader and the story is more than the narrative's source. One often identifies Captain Singleton, Moll, or Roxana as editors shaping a story rather than as just people telling their own story. They constantly step into the narration to edit ("I shall cut short the History of this prosperous Wickedness, with telling you. . . ."), summarize ("It concerns the story in hand very little to enter into

further particulars. . . only to observe that I had two children by him, and that at the end of the five years he died."), and classify ("But I waive that discourse till I come to the experiment.") sections in the book. There are copious notations of narrative shifts ("But to return to my story;. . ."). The narrators seem to delight in the strategies of storytelling. Over and over they interject comments which serve to foreshadow upcoming events, create suspense, and indicate a concern to put everything in its place. Thus the fiction of Defoe comes to the reader with a structure reminiscent of romance, that, coupled with a design made conspicuous by the author and the narrator, emphasizes the overall order inherent in its variety.

Similar to the influence of criminal biography, travel narrative, and devotional literature in Defoe, the conventions of epistolary literature, conduct books, and drama admittedly contributed to the shaping of Richardson's fiction.¹⁰⁹ But the romance convention of digressive-interpolative structure is still to be found. For example, in Clarissa the courtship of Rosebud and Johnny Burton, the tale of Belton, and the relationship between Mr. Hickman and Miss Howe represent apparent interpolations to the main narrative. Again they are neither as frequent nor as expansive as in the seventeenth-century and earlier romances, but their presence is recognizable in the work's structure.

With the epistolary form there would seem to exist a sense of limitation in the possibilities for extensive digression. But it is difficult to perceive that Richardson felt any restraint. As well as maxims, quotations and letters-within-letters, the author found occasion for discourses, debates, conversations, and reflection in Pamela, Clarissa, and Sir Charles Grandison. Pamela probably develops retarding exposition the least. Her conversations and discourses on love and marriage, womanhood, pride, Providence and so forth rarely exceed a page or two. However, Clarissa and her adversaries expand the digressions' number, length, and variety. Perhaps because of the increased number of perspectives, there are more than double the identifiable discourses, on a wide variety of subjects. In Sir Charles Grandison the diversity of subject and overall plentitude of digressions seemingly established in Clarissa are sustained. But these digressions appear to resemble more closely those of seventeenth-century romances. Their form is most often as a set discussion or set general conversation. The subjects are usually more amatory or feminine in nature. Thus, there is a greater tendency to note discussions or debates on subjects such as the folly of first love, the extravagance of girls' romantic notions, or the feasibility of an intellectual life for women rather than straightforward lectures on human nature or ancient and modern learning (both of which do appear).

Part of the digressive-interpolative structure is attributable to the author's concept of unity and choice of narrative technique. Richardson's greatest concern was that his readers not miss the moral and religious instruction intended in his fiction. His prefaces and postscripts reveal the author's conception of how these goals are to be or were accomplished. Citing the familiar dictum to instruct and improve through diversion and entertainment, the author of Pamela asserts that he achieves success through an easy and agreeable manner "embellished with a great variety of entertaining Incidents."¹¹⁰ Seven years later in the preface to the first volume of Clarissa, Richardson elaborates upon his commitment to unity of design with its inherent variety.¹¹¹ He declines suggestions that he "give a Narrative Turn to the Letters" and that he strike off the collateral Incidents, all that related to the Second Characters, and the instructive and entertaining Parts. Rejecting a gentleman's preference for progress in an affecting story, Richardson refused to part with anything which his adviser thought "retarded" Clarissa's narrative. In fact, he describes Clarissa as a "Collection" which "contains not only the History of the excellent Person whose name it bears, but includes The Lives, Characters, and Catastrophes, of several others, either principally or incidentally concerned in the Story." As the postscript to Clarissa further elaborates, Richardson be-

believes in correlating the design of the whole and its technique with the author's principal end.¹¹²

Similar to seventeenth-century romance's narrative method, the epistolary technique provides Richardson with an opportunity to emphasize his art as well as his story. In fact, the characters in Richardson's fiction are very instrumental in diverting the reader's attention away from the story to the telling of the story. First of all, the characters who write letters in Pamela, Clarissa, and Sir Charles Grandison are more than narrators. Not only do they report events and conflicts, they also offer commentary and reflection upon those events and conflicts. The plot is not allowed to rush to its conclusion. Secondly, the emphasis is on writing the letter.¹¹³ The writing itself is a major part of the action as the writing, editing, copying, and even reading of the epistles dominates the very content of the letters themselves. Paragraph after paragraph narrates the adventures of the correspondent's pen. It is picked up and put down; it scribbles, digresses, and breaks off. Characters are compulsive in their love of writing. In the direst situation they must write on the quality of their style, content, and method. The characters play the explicitly assumed role of editor. They subordinate external detail and incident. They provide a running record of what they determine to be significant circumstance and feeling. They evaluate theirs

and others' writing and decide what to tell and what not to tell. The letters themselves often seem to dominate the characters. Pamela becomes to a large extent her own compiler and editor; Clarissa pays enormous attention to the difficulties in carrying on a correspondence; Harriet Byron at times is only a collector and transcriber of records about Sir Charles Grandison and the history of the Grandison family. Thus, implicitly and explicitly the characters are authors, and, in the recognition of the letter writers as authors, one conceives of their letters, and therefore the total work, as art. Richardson forces the reader through the characters' authorial self-consciousness to see his fiction as art. And thus again we see a major eighteenth-century writer of fiction using not only the structural conventions of romance, but also repeating the practice of drawing attention to the consciously artistic nature of the literature, its narrative, and its structure.

Fielding's use and defense of the digressive-interpolative habit is well known. At the conclusion of chapter two in Book I of Tom Jones, Fielding himself tells us: "Reader, I think proper, before we proceed any farther together, to acquaint thee, that I intend to digress, through this whole History, as often as I see Occasion: . . ." As indicated by The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews, The History of Tom Jones, and Amelia, Fielding fre-

quently saw the occasion. For example, the narrator of Joseph Andrews presents three formal critical discourses before turning (or returning) to the plot (I. i: Of writing lives in general. . .; II. i: Of divisions in authors; and III. i: Matter prefatory in praise of Biography). But formality does not restrict him. The narrator also contributes to the plethora of discourses, asides, debates, and sermons that everyone, from Parson Adams to itinerant poets and players, offers during the story of Joseph and Fanny. More than a dozen different topics only obliquely related to the action arise. There is also more than one storyteller. A lady in the coach relates The History of Leonora, or the Unfortunate Jilt (II. 4 and II.6); Wilson tells the history of his own life (III. 3); and Parson Adams' son reads The History of two Friends (IV. 10-11). The opening chapters in each book of Tom Jones are as well known as are such interpolations as the histories of the Man of Hill, Mrs. Fitzpatrick, and Mrs. Miller. A survey of the table of contents promises a reader digressions in such forms as dialogues and letters, and interpolations which are described as "short accounts" and histories. And as anyone familiar with the foundling's history knows, the reader is not disappointed. Quotations from Horace to Matthew Prior are inserted from Book I, Chapter 1 (p. 26) to Book XV, Chapter X (p. 633); disputes and discourses are as numerous and as varied; letters

appear everywhere. Time is taken frequently to hear about those such as Mrs. Waters and from those like Mr. Supple. Amelia repeats the pattern. Either the narrator or the characters themselves interpolate his or her history (Mrs. Matthews, Booth, Mrs. Bennet, Trent, and Robinson). Either the narrator or one of the characters interrupts a rather episodic plot to expound on or argue about nearly anything. Philosophical ideas, literary technique, and human traits dominate the nearly two dozen expositions. Quotations of poetry and dramatic verse abound; letters appear in nearly every book.

Again, the reader is not left adrift to feel himself lost in a "rude undigested Mass, without Order or Beauty." Contrasting romance with Comedy in the preface to Joseph Andrews, Fielding repeats a familiar conception of romance: "its action being more extended and comprehensive; containing a much larger circle of incidents, and introducing a greater variety of characters." All of Fielding's fiction in general is as extensive, comprehensive, and varied as Joseph Andrews. For instance, he introduces Tom Jones as a collection under one general name with "prodigious Variety" and "several Species" (I. 1). Fielding also considered his fiction to be unified. He admonishes critics to understand his work before they condemn it for not being something it is not meant to be:

First, then, we warn thee not too hastily to condemn any of the Incidents in this our History, as impertinent and foreign to our main Design, because thou dost not immediately conceive in what Manner such Incident may conduce to that Design. This Work may, indeed, be considered as great Creation of our own; and for a little Reptile of a Critic to presume to find Fault with any of its Parts, without knowing the Manner in which the Whole is connected, and before he comes to the final Catastrophe, is a most presumptuous Absurdity.

(Tom Jones. X. i. 398)

Clearly Fielding intends that his book is "to be read with the same Spirit, and in the same Manner as it is writ" (IV. 1) -- Order in Variety.

Furthermore, Fielding insists that his fiction be understood as creations and as creations of an author: "the Excellence of the mental Entertainment consists less in the Subject, than in the Author's Skill in well dressing it up" (Tom Jones. I. 1). And throughout the digressive-interpolative structures of works such as Joseph Andrews, Tom Jones, and Amelia, the author's presence, as well as skill, is ever apparent. To any student of eighteenth-century fiction, Fielding's narrators need no introduction. The intrusive narrator does many things, from devising a plot to defining the underlying ethic, from maintaining a comic level to determining the reader's reactions to the whole. He establishes an intimate relationship with the reader. One thing is certain: the narrator is in control, and the reader is fully cognizant of this authorial control. The narrator in each of Fielding's fictional works

overtly handles the reader. In the narration of the stories, he is either slowing the reader down to give him the "leisure to consider well the foregoing," or he is urging him on to more important events. He takes us off on digressive excursions. He leads us through shifts in plot, setting, and time. The narrator also evaluates data for his reader. He tells us how to take events and how to see characters. Information is trumpeted or delayed according to the author's design. He dispenses sage wisdom, gives friendly advice, and renders knowledgeable lectures. The narrator is also a communicative editor. He tells the reader why some things are included and others excluded. He sets the chapters up with headings as hints or warnings of what is to follow. Therefore, with Fielding's prefaces, essays, and narrators, one has another example similar to seventeenth-century romances of an author's conscious attention to an endorsement of art. And, thus, Fielding's fiction with its conventions in structure, its Order in Variety, and its conscious attention to artistry represents one of the best examples of the impact of romance unity on eighteenth-century fiction.¹¹⁴

The conventions of romance structure helped to determine the characteristics of eighteenth-century fiction. Writers such as Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding endorsed fictive values which emphasized order and variety. Consequently they used digression and interpolation as means

to create an order which would allow variety in embellishment and rhetoric. With varying levels of intensity, they were attempting to create unity based upon what has been termed Order in Variety. As a result, their works consisted of a central story with subordinate events and varied digressions arranged and interpolated according to a general plan. In short, in order to insure a recognition and therefore understanding of their works' Order in Variety, authors devised ways to draw attention to their conscious display of art. One way this is accomplished is by using and accentuating conventions of romance structure.

Thus, in conclusion, it is evident that, by recognizing some of the conventions of structure in eighteenth-century fiction, one not only identifies a similarity to the conventions of romance, but also suggests the artistic intentions of the authors. The use of romance structure, it seems to me, affirms, with its endorsement of traditional fictive values of "pattern," that eighteenth-century fiction grew out of an environment emphasizing order and variety, and therefore could be more accurately evaluated in terms of romance. The artistic success for the novelist, in contrast, generally depends upon his ability to hide or disguise his art. The more realistic, the more objective, and the more the novel ignores its audience, the better it is. The novel moves through life without hesitation or

reflection. Unlike romance, its concern is with "life" more than "pattern." Structure and unity are not of primary significance. Depreciating convention and artifice, the novelists prefer to pursue the illusion of a literary work that attempts from the onset not to be literature. In contrast, as indicated by and because of its conscious maintenance of romance conventions and intentions in structure, the fiction of those such as Richardson and Fielding and even Defoe to a lesser extent¹¹⁵ conspicuously pursued the appearance of literature. The success of this pursuit is indicated by the achievement of the similarity of the fiction to romance.

III. ROMANCE AS WORLD VIEW

Probably the most common characteristic attributed, in general, to romance is its "more or less formal abstractness" and its tendency toward myth, allegory, and symbolism.¹¹⁶ Seeming to lack the sense of life as it is actually lived, the romance is construed as a vehicle for formulating moral truths of universal validity.¹¹⁷ Some find it a conscious adherence to a tradition "heavily dependent on the use of conventional or archetypal figures, on symbol, parable, dream, and fantasy in order to explore large questions about race, history, nature, human motivations, and art."¹¹⁸

Those who attribute abstractness and exploration

to romance are certainly correct, but one further characteristic must be cited: the affirmation of order which is also an integral meaning of romance. There is, in fact, always an assertion of order underlying the "more or less formal abstractness" and the exploration associated with romance.

Romance presents in its imagined world basic assumptions about man, society, and the world that reflect, it seems to me, a clear-cut theodic universe. As with its endorsement of fictive values of "pattern", romance stresses orthodoxy, order, and tradition. It defines an ethos based on a presumption of a cosmic social order with a clearly apprehensible moral system. Universal principles of law and authority come from an absolute deity who created and maintains a moral universe with values and a strict notion of virtue capable of making better men. While omnipotent and omniscient, God is as well a benevolent and personal deity that watches constantly over and interposes in human affairs, and he rewards and punishes according to what is deserved. By convention and intention, romance is a form which depicts life and its moral drama within a regular, uniform, and harmonious frame analogous to a theodic concept of order, and, more relevant to our purposes, to the Christian view of a Providential order as it had evolved in England in the eighteenth century.¹¹⁹

As indicated in the first section of this chapter,

the conventional romance plot is characterized by episodic and erratic wanderings, full of accidental meetings and seemingly improbable chains of circumstances. The story proceeds through often strange and startling circumstances with fortunate mishaps and amazingly lucky encounters appearing in nearly every episode. The hero and heroine suffer through demanding trials and quests which are either created or alleviated by extraordinary mishaps or coincidences. The swift and total resolution of the romance's happy ending is likewise occasioned by strange and startling incidents such as sudden accidental discoveries, meetings, or reversals of fortune which seemingly come from nowhere. Characteristically, the happy ending results in such a manner as to vindicate innocence, uncover guilt, or support a good cause. Furthermore, with the conclusion of a conventional romance, the good are relieved, protected, and rewarded, and the evil are discovered, prosecuted, and punished.

These conventions of plot, it seems to me, strongly suggest the eighteenth-century Christian concepts of Divine Providence and poetic justice as developed by English theologians at least from Hooker onward. The accidents, coincidences, and improbabilities which so shape the romance plot reflect "the conception of a Providence that intervened directly, though usually by natural means and agents, in human affairs. The conception insisted upon the world

as a place where Providence interposed frequently in the individual human experience, and also insisted that the surest signs of such interposition were events marked by a strange or startling or coincidental character."¹²⁰

The dependence of romance plot for its complication and resolution upon a remarkable series of chance encounters and fortunate discoveries represents an acceptance if not calculated manifestation of the idea that God watches over and interposes in human affairs. The quest or testing pattern in romances recalls the Christian idea of adversity -- the pilgrim's progress. The afflictions and disappointments in the world are attributable to Divine Providence, and in the Christian context their purpose is to instruct man concerning his infirmity and his dependence upon God; in the romance, adversity for the hero likewise represents a part of his progress or maturation that is essential before the achievement of his destiny or goals. Moreover, the happy ending of romance brings to mind the pervasive Christian concept of poetic justice as well as further demonstrating the role of Providential intervention in romance plotting. With their conventional conclusions with the reward of virtue and punishment of vice, romance plots demonstrate a version of justice which implies a moral universe guided and controlled by the power of Divine Providence.

The conventions of romance structure, it seems to

me, also represent a prevailing Christian world view. With its endorsement of the fictive values of design and its demands for aesthetic control, romance resembles the Christian conception of cosmic and social order. The structure of romance is a fixed and ordered arrangement that mirrors the existence of order in the universe. Like the universe, it is not only regular, but full and various. For the Christian, God's universe is harmonious, symmetrical, skillfully contrived and designed to express the Divine. With Order in Variety, romance is an imagined world ordered and patterned the same way. Striving for "uniformity amidst variety" and not to appear as a "rude and undigested Mass," this narrative structure, not unlike God, maintains a general purpose or plan that provides a larger harmony for the whole. The romance writer's conscious attention to his general purpose or plan and to his art can be compared to God's supervision of His universe.¹²¹ Most often the romance writer's general purpose or plan, again not unlike God's, is designed to inculcate religion and morality or particularly "to paint Vice in its proper colours, to make it deservedly odious; and to set Virtue in its own amiable Light, to make it truly Lovely."¹²² In short, a romance can be seen as fundamentally analogous to traditional notions of a Christian world order.

A theodic world view can be traced throughout the

literary history of romance. For the classical writers, "religion" was one of the chief interests in romance.¹²³ Fortune and Providence rather than natural causation and human character are the primary agents motivating and ordering the works of Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, Xenophon, and Chariton. The gods are the ruling agents who shape the events of the plot. Fortune is perceived as a kind of personification, a metaphor or rhetorical device to give form to the abstract or the unexpected. Dreams, portents, revelations, potions, witchcraft (magic), and oracles are frequent manifestations of divine guidance and of the supernatural backdrop to classical romance.

It is a commonplace that medieval romance moves under an impulse of religious faith and on supernatural as well as human levels.¹²⁴ In The Making of the Middle Ages, R. W. Southern perceives romance as part of that view of life which sees the "individual seeking and journeying."¹²⁵ It is the journey from a life where man "was lost in the crowd and stripped of those eccentricities which we call his personality to the spiritual growth of the individual who orders his experiences consciously on a Christian plan." Friedrich Heer asserts that the power of medieval romance lies in its "veil of form and symbol" and that the indubitable theme of romance is "initiation, dedication, metamorphosis, and absorption into a higher and fuller life, at once more human and more divine."¹²⁶

Several scholars have documented in Renaissance romances their association with symbolic forms and their animation by the spirit of orthodox Christianity. Walter R. Davis, for example, indicates vestiges of the mythic in setting, characterization, and action as evidence of Renaissance fiction's concern with the "Christian concept of a person, based on the examination of the human condition in relation to the earth and its Creator, which Christian philosophy provides."¹²⁷ Citing the religious drama and the ethical system of the middle ages as well as Greek and chivalric romance as a shaping influence, Howard Felperin sees Renaissance romance as being overtly moralistic and explicitly Christian. The supernatural dimension in Renaissance romance emphasizes the theophany and theodicy inherent in romance.¹²⁸ Alban K. Forcione's detailed study of Persiles y Sigismunda concludes that Cervantes' use of the genre of romance was a conscious recourse to conventions suited to the celebration of the Christian vision of man and history.¹²⁹ For Cervantes the presentation of the Christian eschatological vision of bondage and restoration and of the Christian myth of fall and redemption demanded the conventions and intentions identified with romance.

Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century romances are equally clear expressions and emblems of a coherent Christian vision of life. Because of their affinity with and

proximity to major eighteenth-century English fiction not usually identified as romance, it is worthwhile to examine in some detail these romances' representation of a Christian world view. They contain not only the implicit suggestion of a Providential order in plot and design, but also explicit assertions of intentions to imitate the "Eternal Gilder of all things,"¹³⁰ and thereby "to assert the existence of a Deity, to vindicate Divine Providence, to show the vanity of the short time in this world, and to prove the Eternal Nature of Virtue."¹³¹ These assertions are as prevalent in the texts as they are in the prefaces of French and English romances.

The 1620 edition of A Record of Ancient Histories, Entitled in Latine: Gesta Romanorum is described in its title page as a "discoursing of sundry examples, for the advancement of Vertue and the abandoning of Vice." The "Arguement" to this edition describes the work as depicting the journey of man's soul. Beloved by God, the characters as men and souls are seen to be tempted through several ages in the mortal life before obtaining, through grace, the "fruition of Matrimoniall joy in heaven." The editor insures that each of the histories which follow are read for a moral purpose and within an allegorical context clearly based on Christian theology.

Major Wright's Nature's Paradox is an example of the analogy between the romance writer and God. According

to the preface to this 1652 translation of Iphigenes, Jean Pierre Camus' popular French romance was structured to mirror the Christian universe. The author claims to have "digested" his work "as the Eternall Gilder of all things hath divided the Spacious Roof of Heaven."¹³² The romance is sketched as being divided into five parts to copy the five zones of heaven. More significant, however, is the labeling of each part (infantine, aulick, rustick, heroick, and nuptiall) to match a zone of heaven and to mark the stages of the hero's trials, progress, and ultimate success. The "little chaine," described in the preface, which leads him from "one manner of life to another very different" is clearly meant to be associated with the Providence of Heaven, especially when the "new manner" consists of such Christian attributes as humility, generosity, purity, and piety.

The native English romances of the seventeenth century were as explicit in expressing their affirmation of a theodic world view as the popular French romances. Sir George MacKenzie included with his Aretina; or, The Serious Romance (1660) both a dedicatory epistle to "All the Ladies of This Nation" and "An Apologie for Romances" which have in common references to the moralistic and religious concerns of romance.¹³³ In the dedicatory epistle he compares Providence to the romance writer: "Providence being like these prudent Artists, who bestow the choasest cases

only upon the richest pieces" (pp. 3-4). While using an almost entirely religious idiom, MacKenzie asserts in his dedication that Providence even determines the degree of pleasure and profit a reader will obtain from a romance.

MacKenzie's "An Apologie for Romances" stresses the moralistic purpose of his and other romances. Romances should be seen to contain bundled-up, real truths. They show "what should be done" (p. 7). They present to the reader "vertues in its holyday robes"; they incite many to virtue and generosity; they satisfy curiosity and inform judgment. In short "Romances are these vessels which strain the christal streams of vertue from the puddle of interest" (p. 7). MacKenzie's not-altogether-favorable analysis of romance styles intimates the degree to which romance is linked with instructive and moralistic ends. First he describes the "university style" of romance which is pedantic and designed to persuade. The second style is that of moral philosophers which is appropriate for the "grand mysteries of Faith and Religion" and "suits best with preachers." MacKenzie likes the third style of the Barristers the best because it "shews that excellent harmony; and rapport, which God intended in the first Creation; and which the Philosophers of all ages have ever since admired" (pp. 9-10). Thus, for Sir George MacKenzie, the romance by intention and stylistic convention is identified with the teacher, the philosopher, and the

lawyer and one social and moral order which all three share.

The English romance writers also repeatedly emphasized the purpose and context of their works. For instance, Nathaniel Ingelo's perception of his romance allows little doubt that it was conceived within a Christian scheme. He begins his preface to Bentivolio and Urania (1660) by identifying the only work that is worthy of wise men, namely,

so to employ their better faculties and improve their time, that at last they may obtain an End, in which they may rejoyce eternally: After a sincere intention of this End, to prosecute it with a constant use of fit means, is the Character of a Prudent and Good man. Those which govern not their life by this Principle, do either suffer themselves to be benum'd with Idleness, or abuse the activity of their Souls in some vain employment.¹³⁴

The remainder of the preface sets out to prove that the author's interest is the "eternal End" rather than "some vain employment." This involves basically the giving of "charitable notice" to the writing and reading of Romances. Ingelo praises romance in general and in his work in particular: the "Moral Vertues which so highly concern the felicity of the World" and are disguised under the pleasure; the appropriate representations of virtue and vice; and the presentations of "Truths of greatest Importance." He is most offended by ill-formed romances: ". . . they would appear to be full of the grossest Indecorums of Invention, as odious misrepresentations of Divinity, unnaturall De-

scriptions of Humane Life, Improper and Prophanes allusions to Sacred Things, frequent and palpable contradictions, Sottish stories, and in short, all the absurdities of wild Imagination" (p. D2). Not only are they vain employments which benumb man but these ill-formed romances also abuse man by distorting his vision of God and his universe. In contrast, the aim of good romance writers is to:

. . . lay their design of Romance deeper than the Shallows of Fancy; that so the Reader may not stick upon every Shelf of Fiction, and that the Streams of Wit be navigable for the Importation of such Wisdom as is necessary for our best life. The design to please is then as well accomplished, but not terminating in the surface of Recreation, it is improved into a higher advantage of those nobler faculties which God hath given us.
(pp. D2^v - D3)

The higher advantages include the moral design of making men better, of furthering the good, of disciplining the soul and body, and of examining the conscience. There can be little doubt that Christianity provided the principles which shaped the intentions and design of Bentivolio and Urania.

With the passage of the seventeenth century, the French and English romances as well as their editors' and translators' perception of them continue to indicate moralistic intentions and a theodic conception of the universe. Madeleine de Scudery establishes a similar atmosphere early in her preface to Ibrahim, or the Illustrious Bassa. Preparing to elucidate upon the intentions and methods of

her romance writing, the author of the most popular French romances wants to make it clear that she is not like the painter who finished his work accidentally by throwing his pencil against his picture. Her work and its content are too important.

The operations of the Spirit are too important to be left to the conduct of chance, and I had rather be accused for failing out of knowledge, than for doing well without minding it. There is nothing which temerity doth not undertake, and which Fortune doth not bring to pass; but when a man relies on those two Guides, if he doth not erre, he may erre; and of this sort, even when the events are successefull, no glory is merited thereby.¹³⁵

She is careful in her art as she is cognizant of the importance of God's Providence. It is no accident that Mme. de Scudery compares herself to an architect who takes his measures right to insure the beauty of his building. The beauty of Ibrahim to its author is its true resemblance to the ordinary but marvelous course of Nature. The vocabulary of architecture (building, frame, ground-plot, foundation, and artifice) represents not only the author but also suggests the common metaphor of God as architect.

It is also evident that Ibrahim was always intended to be more than an entertaining diversion. For instance, the commentary concerning the role of the hero in the romance concludes with the idea of instruction through example:

And if from true resemblance and inclinations, expressed by words, we will pass unto manners, goe from the pleasant to the profitable, and from Delight to Example, I am to tell you, Reader, that here Vertue is seen to be alwayes recompenced, and

Vice alwayes punished, if he that hath followed his unruliness hath not by a just and sensible repentance obtained Grace from Heaven; to which purpose I have also observed equality of manners in all the persons that do act, unless it be whereas they are disordered by passions, and touched with remorse. (p. 8)

The instruction is clearly to be in the area of morals, poetic justice, and God's Providence. Madeleine de Scudery's entire conception of romance reflects an awareness of the "operations of the Spirit." Even the concluding apology for imperfections implies a theological context for the romance.

Behold, Reader, that which I had to say to you, but what defence soever, I have employed, I know that it is of works of this nature, as of a place of War, where notwithstanding all the care the Engineer hath brought to fortifie it, there is alwayes some weak part found, which he hath not dream'd of, and whereby it is assaulted; but this shall not surprise me; for as I have not forgot that I am a man, no more have I forgot that I am subject to erre. (p. 13)

In contrast to God and his creation, Mme. de Scudery and Ibrahim are human and therefore imperfect. But an awareness of the divine and its perfect order is, if only by implication, ever present.

For many romances, awareness of the divine context is seldom left to implications. Considering the preface to Theodora and Didymus (1687), one can grasp Robert Boyle's romance only in the context of Christian intentions and world view. He depicts his romance as an act of piety. Through the building of "fair Monuments" to the memories

of two martyrs in his romance, he proposes to honor the title characters' suffering and to make other men "aspire to Heroick Vertue."¹³⁶ By emphasizing exemplary piety and virtue, he aims for his readers to possess "high and noble Sentiments of the Christian Religion" and to emulate "Patterns of Vertue." Boyle's means of emphasis are clearly stated. He transforms a piece of Martyrology into a Romance; he develops the plot to show "the rise and progress of Didymus's Love"; the "degeneracy of the then Christians, which provok'd Divine Providence, to expose them to a very Bloody Persecution," and the "last hours of her [Theodora's] Life, and particularly those Sufferings that ended in her and Didymus's glorious Martyrdom" (p. A7). As a romance, Theodora and Didymus can do, therefore, "some good, by rendering Vertue Amiable, and recommending Piety to a sort of Readers, that are much more affected by shining Examples, and pathological Expressions, than by dry Precepts, and grave Discourses" (p. A8^v). In Robert Boyle's mind there is only a difference in style between his romance's conception and presentation of a providentially ordered world of poetic justice and the conception and presentation found in a sermon or book of divinity (p. A2).

Romances representing the prevailing Christian world view are not restricted to the seventeenth century but appear well into the eighteenth century as well. An excellent example is Andrew Michael Ramsay's The Travels of

Cyrus which was published first in Paris in 1727 and appeared in more than ten English editions by 1795. The preface to the fourth edition (1730) in England boldly states the author's intentions and philosophical rationale behind the presentation of his narrative. Ramsay lists among his objectives his general desire to unfold the great principles of religion. In particular he hopes to "raise the soul by easy and natural gradations to the knowledge and love of the first Being"; to "prove against the Atheists the existence of a supreme Deity, who produced the world by his power, and governs it by his wisdom"; and to "shew, in opposition to the Deists, that the principal doctrines of revealed religion, concerning the states of innocence, corruption and renovation, are as ancient as the world."¹³⁷

The successful achievement of these instructive objectives is obtained, according to Ramsay, through a recognition of the work's design. Cyrus was created in such a way as to "shew, that courage, great exploits and military talents may indeed excite our admiration, but do not form the character of a true hero, without the addition of wisdom, virtue, and noble sentiments" (p. vii). Ramsay's design is to instruct the reader as well as to depict the instruction of Cyrus. The principal concepts to be relayed reflect a familiar perception of the universe:

The Author's design was to habituate the mind of a young Prince to judge by principles, discover the connection of essential truths and unite them under one view. He says to him upon each subject what is necessary to shew, that all nations had originally the same fundamental principles; that the duties of religion, morality and good policy flow from the same source, conspire to the same end, and mutually support and fortify each other; and in a word, that all the civil and human virtues, the laws of nature and nations are, so to speak, but consequences of THE LOVE OF ORDER, which is the eternal and universal law of all intelligences. In a work of this nature, it is necessary to unbend the mind of the reader, without carrying it off from its principal object; all the flowers should be thoughts, the graces noble and tender sentiments, the paintings characters, and the descriptions such pictures as may make us acquainted with nature, and admire the Creator. (pp. xiv-xv)

The method used to reveal this order is what Ramsay calls unity of design (pp. viii-ix) and what I have designated as Order in Variety.

As a result, it would seem apparent from these representative prefaces that romance writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for the most part sustained, in theory at least, the traditional association of a Christian world view with the conventions and intentions of romance. They proclaim their moral and instructive purposes; they assert their support for values which match those of Christianity; they discuss their art in concepts characteristic of a providentially ordered world. Order, harmony, poetic justice, and Divine Providence are terms which describe the romance writer's vision of his work as well as the Christian's vision of the universe. Frequently the objectives

of the romance writer and the Christian are the same. In fact, in their prefaces, the romance writers proclaim that there is no distinction between romance writers and Christian apologists.

This identification is sustained in the romances themselves. As a typical romance, Nature's Paradox narrates the testing and trial of loves that involve the fates of kingdoms, families, and individuals. It is a series of adventures motivated by love for Iphigenes. Various stages of complaint and despair over unfulfilled love by the heroes are followed by the usual complications and entanglements. Characters are lost; journeys are interrupted by shipwrecks; heroines are captured; battles are fought; and rebellions disrupt kingdoms and families. A constant throughout the expansive and varied plotting is the repeated acknowledgement of Providence's role by the narrator or characters themselves. Boleslaus' complaint over Iphigenes' lack of constancy and loyalty is addressed to Heaven: "Oh! Let the Heavens invent some pains more better than those which they make mee suffer. . . . Heavens alter the motion of your Sphears. . . . Heavens where are your Thunderbolts, where your Plagues?" (p. 151). When Serife relates her own history, she understands her difficult times as punishment for her despair when she "exclaimed against Heaven and Earth" and "accursed the Innocence of the Stars" (p. 163). She also attributes her successes to God. Hav-

ing escaped from the clutches of a potential ravisher, she relates how, despite her lack of hope, "the Providence of Heaven (which watcheth over the afflicted) gave mee the invention and means to free my self from that Captivity" (p. 165).

Calliante's adventures throughout Nature's Paradox are also accompanied by overt statements about the role of Divine Providence in human affairs. At one point, the narrator remarks upon Calliante's extraordinary discovery of the object of his affections when he did not even know that she was lost in a forest: "This bred some compassion in their Hearts, and made them imagine that it was not without some particular Providence of Heaven, that so many strange Accidents in so short a time should be presented to their sight" (p. 170). With this discovery of Serife, the romance characteristically wanders off into Calliante's narration of his own adventures. These, too, are marked by providential intervention. For example, while pursuing his love, he impetuously takes a ship into a storm. Calliante's explanation for survival is as straightforward as the author's account of extraordinary discoveries: "We could expect no less than a deplorable Shipwreck: But the just Heavens (which favour good intentions) have not permitted us to fall into these Precipes, quite contrary, . . ." (p. 183).

As Camus's romance moves to its happy conclusion,

each event points to political, familial, and individual harmony and order. Everything has been and is seen as a testing through adversity. Character after character has noted and will note each significant event in his or her life with some acknowledgement of God's intervention. Each acknowledgement contains through direct statement or implication a recognition of a divine scheme or order. Iphigenes seemingly summarizes the entire romance within this conceptual context:

Observe how all these passages are linked to each other. It was not without the particular providence of Heaven, that wee escaped the affronts which those irritated clowns would have made us suffer; and I beseech the Powers above to continue us the same grace, and draw us out of the Labyrinths, wherein, I foresee, that we are likely to bee involved. (p. 236)

The presence of Providence in this movement to order and harmony is repeatedly remarked upon by the narrator or his characters. References to "Heaven's favor," "the hand of Providence," and those "supreme Powers who make use of the weakest things to confound the most Mighty" are common occurrences. As an example of the movement to political order, King Mieslas's stubborn opposition to Liente culminates in a challenge and subsequent battle. With the injury to Mieslas by Liente during the resulting melee, the narrator explains the distribution of victory and defeat: "But let this suffice, that all acknowledged the hand of Heaven upon the Arrogance of Mieslas, had com-

passion on Polemander, esteemed the fortunate Valour of Liante, but extolled to the Skies the Courage and Piety of the Palantine of Plocens" (pp. 271-272). An example of the movement to order on a familial level occurs when Boleslaus is reunited with his father the king. His initial remarks begin with "Father, I bless the Heavens who have sent you hither (as a Tutelary Angell) to render me the last devoirs. . ." and ends with "I applaud the Providence of him under whose will run all the Moments of our Life" (p. 327). Individual harmony is exemplified by the marriage of Iphigenes. As the culminating product of the other movements to order, the marriage of the title character therefore occasions specific references to Divine ordering: "See how the Heavens overcoming your Malice by singular Mercies, have rendered you more happy than you imagined; upon whose gracious Obligations prepare hence forwards a Repentance and Acknowledgment of their Goodness" (p. 364). Iphigenes specifically admonishes Mieslas as king, father, and husband to recognize providential design, but clearly the design applies to everyone connected with the romance. Thus the leading from "one manner of life to another very different" promised in the preface is implemented in the text of Nature's Paradox by direct assertion as well as by plot and structure. The result is an explicit as well as implicit presentation of a providentially conceived world view and the associated

Christian values.

Bentivolio and Urania is a quest romance. Much like his Renaissance predecessors, the hero journeys through strange worlds (Argentora, Placenza, Vanasembia, Theoprepia, Theriagene, and Elenchus), full of menacing forces and suffers numerous trials and struggles before accomplishing his goal. His sufferings are rewarded with superior wisdom, and he returns to elevate his society to the state of perfection which he himself embodies.

The menacing forces confronting Bentivolio, Urania, and Panaretus are painted as products of erroneous moral decisions. Labargyrus, in the adventure in Argentora (Book I), is a "devilish tyrant" who nearly destroys a kingdom because, "instead of washing away the guilt of his Crimes with true Repentance, [he] took sanctuary against the feares of his Conscience in Revenge" (p. 20). Pirates, tyrants, rebels, and other miscreants represent "the dregs of bitter Pleasure, the discomfort of an ungovern'd life, and the difficulties of late Repentance" (p. 58). Bentivolio and his allies face a hostile and varied society inhabited by imperfect people. Imperfections are tabulated within a context of Christian values:

Having thus lost the love of God, they can never love one another; for after they have broken those strong ties which he fasten'd in the roots of their Souls, they make nothing of mutual obligations to Love, Courtesie, Charity, Friendship, or Justice; and at last are become Beasts and Devils, the very face of Humanity being lost.
(p. 22)

The heroes' quest is depicted as a search for divine as well as human love.

The events involved in the quest are conventional. So are the remarks which observe and note them. For example in Book I, there is a shipwreck, a trial by combat, a planned execution, and a foiled rape and murder attempt. Each event and its outcome is charged to divine workings within a divine design. During a storm, the ship sinks due to a leak and "the justness of Providence." It just so happens that the crew had stolen the ship, and it is appropriate that its sinking "did soon call to mind their Sin" (p. 4). Benvolio fights Forzario "with God's help to procure satisfaction to Erotocles." Forzario's ultimate death is attributed to "Divine Vengeance." Benvolio escapes execution because his persecutors "forget that it is not by Chance, but Design that Good Men are dispers'd upon the Earth" (p. 32). And Orphania, according to the narrator, is correct in thanking Heaven as well as Benvolio and Thrasymachus for her deliverance from rape and murder.

The trials and struggles in Benvolio and Urania involve philosophical as well as physical demands. In fact, the primary progress in the quest is measured in the advancement from questions like Urania's,

And tho' sometimes we meet with such instances of trial as we must think God had a particular design in the bringing of them upon us; yet what

a vast content do Virtuous persons find in the unrepachable entrance into their Sufferings? (II. 58)

to statements of faith like Prince Alethion's,

We ought of no case to make a Judgment against the Justice of God's proceedings; for though he makes Punishment sufficiently discernable in some Examples, yet he many times doth not acquaint us with the cause why it is inflicted.
(V. 52)

The happy ending of the quest is represented by political restoration (" . . . the Justice of Heaven [did] punish the Rebellion. . . . by which God having made it successful, he [Prince of Theoprepia] was restor'd"), family reunion, and mass marriage (Bentivolio to Theonoe, Althion to Agape, Theosebius to Urania, Panaretus to Irene). The description of the weddings and the commentary on them underscores their implications for the conventional romance ending:

. . . that the magnificent Pomp of these Weddings was so illustrious, that Truth and Love, Wisdom and Goodness, Righteousness and Peace, seem'd to have taken Bodies, and to have descended from their Celestial Mansions, to celebrate their Nuptials upon Earth. (VI. 219)

It is the union of the divine and the earthly, and thereby the achievement of social and cosmic order and harmony.

The theodic emphasis is further highlighted as Bentivolio and Urania concludes. Book V is devoted almost entirely to digressive discussions that assert the existence of God, define Divine Providence, describe the eternal nature of virtue, and prove the immortality of human souls.

It is as if Ingelo wanted to insure that his readers understood the doctrines underlying the intentions and conventions of his romance. Book VI contains the interpolation of the History of Anaxanaction which is "a short story of the Life and to give a brief Synopsis of the Sacred Doctrine of our dearest Saviour" (II. vi. 134-162). The transformation of the New Testament into a romance story further indicates the close identification of romance and the Christian world view.

Although he disdains the customary annunciation of moralistic intentions and other prefatory commentary which would associate his work directly with a Christian world view, La Calprenede's romances are just as solid in their affirmation of a providentially ordered universe, containing as they do substantial evidence that La Calprenede's perception and depiction of truth includes God, his order, and his values. While representative of the seventeenth-century French heroic school, La Calprenede's Cleopatre (1647-58) is illustrative of romance's imitation and affirmation of a providentially directed world. For example, the 1687 translation as Hymen's Praeludia: or, Love's Master-Piece. Being that So-Much-Admired Romance, Intituled Cleopatra includes among its many tales the History of Tyridates.¹³⁸ The story itself is not interwoven with any of the other stories, but in its nature and tone fits well into the romance. Furthermore, because the house of Tyri-

dates serves as a gathering place for the six principal characters, the Tyridates plot seems to provide the opening (and therefore significant) focus for the romance.

Telling his own history, Tyridates describes it as a "web of miseries interwoven with a few memorable Events" (p. 4). The tenor of Tyridates' life is established by an oracle at his birth which proclaims that he was born under an "unfortunate Planet" and foretells the miseries of his life. Indeed Tyridates observes and experiences the ordeals of political unrest, patricide, regicide, and exile. He remarks himself that "Fortune soon shew'd how much my repose displeased her" (p. 5). The major memorable event for the brother of Phraates is his love for "Divine Marianne." Settling in Judea under the rule of cruel Herod, Tyridates falls desperately in love with his adopted ruler's wife. Despite Herod's baseness and savage killing of her family, Marianne as a Christian remains faithful to her husband. Her suitor's protestations of love and offers of sacrifice are declined with pious resignation:

. . . and if his [Herod's] actions do frame our calamities, 'tis fit I should believe that Heaven makes use of them to chastize our Crimes. By them it hath let fall its wrath upon the head of our deplorable Family, and therefore if any complaint breaks from me, it makes its way through the weakness of my Nature, and must be owned for the Child of Justice. (I. i. 8)

Marianne seems more concerned with Tyridates' impiety and failure to "acknowledge but one Deity" than her own trials;

"My Misfortunes are not unsupportable,. . . , if you would find the way to understand them right, and if you knew the God which I adore, you would likewise know the consolation I taste in my sufferings" (p. 8).

Meanwhile, Tyridates' career rises with his victories over the Arabs ("Fortune that had favour'd my beginnings, did so well second her kindness") and the Parthians ("the Gods favoured the Justice of my cause"). He becomes Herod's favorite while continuing his adoration of Herod's wife. Marianne warns Tyridates that "if you open these eyes to reason, which passion hath shut up, you will soon perceive, that God doth punish your unjust affection with another which your self disapproves" (p. 17). But it is too late. Salome, in revenge for her unrequited affection for Tyridates and hatred of Marianne, arouses Herod's suspicions. Tyridates barely escapes the poisons and troops of the livid husband. As Arsanes observes, "the Gods in good time conducted me hither to spill the Poyson prepared for you" (p. 23), and "without some miraculous assistance, the ways to safety were all blocked up" (p. 25). The Gods "so ordained it"; they flee into the "Sacred Fortress" of a temple. Before going to Rome and ultimately retiring to the solitary dwelling in which he currently lives, Tyridates goes in disguise to make his final plea to the Queen: "I will see if Heaven prove so kind that she permits me the opportunity" (p. 27). But Queen Mari-

anne is adamant in her faith: "I will quit the world when it pleases Heaven to release me, without the Crimes of these Miseries: or if it have decreed them a longer date, I must still have patience to endure them, . . .; I am neither permitted by Law Divine or Humane to serve my self of your assistance" (p. 29). She is confident that she still has a "defender in Heaven." The only solace for Tyridates as he departs to fulfill his miserable destiny is Marianne's vow that "if Heaven and my Parents had left me in a condition to my own choice, and Tyridates embraced the true Religion, I had preferr'd him above the rest of Mankind" (p. 29).

Unmistakably a major focus of Tyridates' history is found in the references to and uses of providential intervention. Furthermore, in light of Marianne's ardent devotion to her Christian God by example and declaration alone, one should acknowledge the presence of a Christian world view.

A final example to document romance's intentional and conventional representation of the values and design of a Christian universe is The Travels of Cyrus. This romance is an excellent example because, while it repeats the familiar pattern of citing the role of providential interposition, divine design, and poetic justice in the characters' lives, it also includes expansive digressions which explain the doctrines behind the events and their pattern.

Cyrus is a Persian destined by the oracles to great exploits. His story depicts his preparation to be the founder and law-giver of a mighty empire with his acquisition of "some knowledge worthy of his genius and destiny." This preparation provides the reader and Cyrus with a knowledge of the religion, manners, and politics of several countries. The emphasis of his education, however, is clearly on the principles of religion. Again, as in many romances, Cyrus's educational progress is revealed by his movement from questioning God's plans (" . . . but surely the Gods can make me a Conquerer without making me miserable.") to asserting his total faith ("All flows out from the Deity and all must be absorbed in him again."), from being a Persian who loves virtue to a Christian who also loves God's order.

There are two sources of knowledge in The Travels of Cyrus. One form of instruction comes from the lessons of the various teachers and philosophers who appear throughout the romance, and whose teachings are essentially the same. For example, Princess Mandara in Book I teaches Cyrus that "Gods reward the happy ignorance of vices" (p. 7); in Book II Zoroaster tells him that "the transient sufferings of this life are designed by the Gods to expiate the secret faults of those who appear the most virtuous" (p. 61); in Book V Solon describes God as "the universal Prince and common Father of all" who takes care of the

"sustenance of men" and governs them as their guardian and shepherd (p. 192); in Book VI Pythagoras instructs that there is "but one sole eternal Principle; that all the Gods of Greece are but different names to express the attributes of the Deity, or the properties of Nature, which is the image of him" (p. 225); and Eleazar who in Book VIII informs Cyrus that "the Eternal conceives, produces, and disposes every thing in order" (p. 341).

The second form of instruction to which Cyrus is exposed is experience. Through his travels the youthful Persian encounters daily manifestations of Providence in his and others' lives. For example, in Book II "sad misfortune" ends Cyrus's marriage to Cassandre. Her death occurs in order that he may pursue his destiny. In Book III he observes the tyrant Amasis whose insatiable thirst for power results in the anger of Heaven and a life "always plunged in a gloomy sadness" (p. 116). In Book IV, while in Greece, Cyrus fights with the Spartans against the attacking Tegeans. He enjoys a success which could come from only one source: "All the soldiers sent up shouts of joy, and look'd upon the Prince of Persia as a divine man sent by the Gods to save Sparta" (p. 171). In Book VII, Cyrus faces a rebellion in his own country led by crafty Soranes. Calling his troops to arms, he harangues his men in terms showing that he was an excellent student of experience and philosophers: "Second the designs of heaven, ren-

der yourself worthy to accomplish its oracles!" (p. 310). The most convincing instance of the direct connection between human affairs and the divine is the summary accounting of Cyrus's career successes. Contrasted with the suffering of Nabuchodonosor caused by his blasphemy, Cyrus obtains his happy destiny in military triumphs, political empires, and social justice. It is no coincidence that the conversion of Cyrus by the biblical Daniel and his sermon on Providence, Old Testament history, and New Testament just precedes the survey of the Persian prince's glory. There can be little doubt the reader is meant to surmise that Cyrus's earthly achievements were occasioned by his religious conversion.

Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century romance writers were not alone in the placement of their work within a Christian conceptual context. Pierre Daniel Huet, Bishop of Avranches, traces the history of romances by enquiring into the "remotest countries" and deriving his account from the "most Latent Part of Antiquity."¹³⁹ Citing "a great Relation" with epic poems, the Bishop compares romances with poems that "move in a great Circumference by the Ministry of the Gods, and Expressions vast and audacious, so that First, They may be looked upon as Oracles throughout, from a Spirit full of Fury, and then for a faithful and exact Narration" (p. 47). For Huet, romance, with its inclination to Fable, is natural to men and "has

its Seat in the very Frame and Disposition of their Soul" (p. 49). It represents a vehicle for understanding and knowledge:

The principal End of Romance, or at least what ought to be so, and is chiefly to be regarded by the Author, is the Instruction of the Reader; before whom he must present Virtue successful, and Vice in Disgrace; but because the Mind of Man naturally hates to be inform'd, and (by the Influence of Self-Conceit) resists Instruction; 'tis to be deceived by the Blandishments of Pleasure; and the Rigor of Precept is to be subdued by the Allurements of Example. Thus we regulate our own Defects, and at the same time condemn them in others. (p. 46)

With moralistic instruction demonstrating poetic justice, he considers romance an example of what distinguishes man from "Beasts no less than Reason."

In his essay, Huet also discusses the origins of romance writing and traces it from the Egyptians, through the Greek Milesian tales, the poetry of Northern Europe, to the troubadours of Provence. But, rather than condemning the reading of romances, the Bishop of Avranches finds them to be "one of the Greatest Charms which can affect the Soul of Man" (p. 55). He quotes St. Augustine to substantiate his claims for the power of the romance's Ingenuity, Subtlety, Instruction, Invention and Art:

That these Falsities which carry a Signification, and suggest an Hidden Meaning, are not Lies, but the Figures of Truth; which the most Wise and Holy Persons, and even our Saviour himself, have used upon Honourable and Pious Occasions. (p. 50)

It seems likely that the figures of Truth common to both

romance and the Son of God are conceived within a Christian frame of reference.

Richard Hurd contends in his Letters on Chivalry and Romance (1762) that "the philosophic moderns have gone too far in their perpetual ridicule and contempt" of chivalry and romance.¹⁴⁰ He proposes to inquire into the rise, progress, and genius of chivalry and romance in order to determine whether or not romances are products of caprice and absurdity. The institution of chivalry, Hurd asserts, was the source for romance, and therefore explains the romance way of writing.

Hurd's third letter characterizes and accounts for the shaping influence of chivalry upon romance (pp. 245-253). Hurd summarizes chivalry with the recounting of its four traits -- prowess, generosity, gallantry, and religion. With its feudal beginnings and the later impact of the Crusades, chivalric service was "truly romantic" and primarily concerned with "the going in quest of adventures." The "romantic" nature of chivalry for Hurd meant more than the passion for arms and adventures or the display of courtesy and affability. They are virtues invested with Christian values. Prowess included attention to the "honour of knighthood" as well as to the rewards of valour. Generosity entailed "romantic ideas of justice" where the hero was eager to "run to the succour of the distressed" and took pride in "redressing wrongs and removing grievances."

Gallantry was concerned with the virtue, chastity, and platonic elevation of women. The true knight thought the violation of chastity to be the "most atrocious of crimes" and was sworn to protect virtue as "the fairest and strongest claim" of women.

But to Hurd it is the "character of religion" which is most requisite for characterizing chivalry and therefore romance. Religion is the quality "which was so deeply imprinted on the minds of all knights, and was essential to their institution" (p. 250). For the knights of chivalry and the heroes of romance, "the love of God and of the ladies went hand in hand, in the duties and ritual of Chivalry" (p. 250). Faith was just as basic as courage, for, as Hurd reasons, "no institution of a public nature could have found credit in the world, that was not consecrated by the churchmen, and closely interwoven with religion" (p. 250). As he progresses through the extended Letters on Chivalry and Romance sketching a history of the taste for chivalry and romance, Richard Hurd reveals, among other things, the continuing presence of religion, piety, metaphysics, moral allegory, and religious machinery in a literary form which "burnt long, and continued its light and heat even to the politer ages" (p. 239).

James Beattie's essay "On Fable and Romance" (1783) opens its inquiry into the origin and nature of the Modern Romance with the assertion: "the love of Truth is natural

to man; and adherence to it, his indispensable duty. But to frame a fabulous narrative, for the purpose of instruction or of harmless amusement, is no breach of veracity."¹⁴¹ Beattie cites such precedents as the Book of Judges, Menenius Agrippa, and Aesop to show further that fabulous narrative such as romance has been "common in all ages of the world, and practised by teachers of the most respectable character" (pp. 505-508). Thus, Beattie's concern is not only a historical survey but also a defense of well written fable and romance.

One strategy of this defense is to establish a long and significant association of romance with religion, lessons of morality, and refined instruction. Using such sources as Hurd's Letters on Chivalry and Romance and Mrs. Dobson's translation of The Literary History of the Troubadours, Beattie repeats the customary historical survey of the events contributing to the development of romance. The barbarians' over-running of the Roman empire introduced feudal government; this government gave rise to chivalry; chivalry gave birth and form to romance. He significantly expands the usual discussions of the attributes of those who caused, created, or passed on this specific literary form to emphasize their religious and moral characteristics. For example, Beattie's examination of the barbarians who started it all stresses their religious belief in an after-life and their reverence of women as "sacred persons

by whom the gods were pleased to communicate their will to mankind" (p. 527). His characterization of the chivalric knights contains similar emphases:

That spirit of valour and religion, and that passion for travelling and strange adventures, to which the crusades were so favourable, gave rise to Chivalry; which now began to appear in the world, and in time produced very important consequences, in politicks, in manners, and in literature. (p. 538)

While acknowledging Hurd's material on the characteristics of the knights of chivalry, Beattie not only expands it but seemingly rearranges it for emphasis. Now the primary characteristic is their "Religious character." In the chivalric world, piety was considered as "indispensably requisite to form a gallant soldier" (p. 529). Also, partly from their attachment to the Christian religion and their development as part of an institution for settling the disorders of the time, knights are characterized by their "zeal for justice." They professed to "take up arms in vindication of the rights of mankind; to punish the oppressor; to set at liberty the captive; to succour the distressed damsel; and to rid the world of those false knights, who wandered about in armour, to accomplish wicked purposes" (p. 543) with "hopes of future happiness which religion taught them to entertain" (pp. 543-544). Even his devotion to the ladies is second to the knight's love of God, and that devotion, according to Beattie, is "invested with something of a sacred character" (p. 544).

Keeping in mind the characteristics of romance's source, the essay "On Fable and Romance" proceeds toward its intended description of Modern Romance. Beattie marks the dawn of modern literature with the passion for romance, and, as he traces the history of this passion from the twelfth-century troubadours of Provence to eighteenth-century writers of England, he maintains that the literary form retained the spirit of chivalry. A considerable part of this spirit for Beattie is in general religious and in particular Christian. Robinson Crusoe, for example, is to be read with profit as well as pleasure. It "breathes throughout a spirit of piety and benevolence" (p. 566). The novels of Richardson reflect an author who "was a man of unaffected piety and had the improvement of his fellow-creatures very much at heart" (p. 568). As romances, eighteenth-century fiction would naturally exhibit piety.

John Moore's "A View of the Commencement and Progress of Romance" (1797), like Thomas Warton's History of English Poetry, Thomas Percy's "An Essay on the Ancient Metrical Romances," and Paul Henri Mallet's Introduction a L'histoire de Dannemare, outlines the customs and institutions of feudalism and chivalry as the origins and shaping influences for romance. Moreover, as with Huet, Hurd, and Beattie, Moore finds religion to be one of the pillars of chivalry and consequently central to the romance.¹⁴² He believes, as did his predecessors, that the ground-work

of most romances is a product of the prevailing taste of an age in which they were written. Arthur, who was "an exemplary Christian," and Charlemagne, who constrained his enemies to "affect a belief in Christianity and to conform to the Christian ceremonies," were the two original heroes of romance and, as the original molds, represent the beginning of a literary tradition which continued well into the eighteenth century that was and is set in a Christian world.

It is evident that romance in theory and practice represents a theodic world view. Its conventions of plot and design are emblems of a providentially controlled and a providentially ordered universe. Its intentions are moral and instructive. It presumes an orthodox system of ethical values that are constant and universal. Romance writers and literary historians alike testify to a moral universe in romance with intelligible values where right and wrong are clearly labelled and where poetic justice is demanded. Thus, from the middle ages to the eighteenth century, romance was a framework for sustaining basic Christian assumptions about man, society, and the world, and, in spite of the excesses naturally concomitant with a popular literary form, these assumptions were considered the serious matters upon which justification and celebration of the form were based.

The fiction of the major eighteenth-century English

writers reflects the same framework and world view. There is considerable evidence that writers such as Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding presented in their fiction a pattern of order, a providential design, and a providential justice characteristic of a coherent Christian vision of life. One notes that, when modern critics discuss eighteenth-century fiction's structure, characterization, and meaning according to a Christian context, they rely on explicit as well as implicit evidence. The modern critics' patterns of presentation commonly involve: the citation of parallels with works such as sermons and tracts; the citation of explicit overt statements external to the fictional work studies as in prefaces and letters; and the citation of direct quotations from the fiction itself.

Because of the wealth of evidence in these modern studies (which actually only scratches the surface and which will be surveyed briefly later), I have not felt compelled to cite as much explicit evidence as done with the seventeenth-century romances to document a Christian framework and world view. To begin with, implicit evidence is to be found in the already documented conventions of romance plot and Order in Variety. As in seventeenth-century and earlier romances, the romance plot elements emphasizing accidents, coincidences, and the improbabilities suggest in works such as Moll Flanders, Clarissa, and Tom Jones providential intervention. As in the con-

clusions of Parismus, Ibrahim, and The Travels of Cyrus, happy endings with the appropriate distribution of rewards and punishments indicate an endorsement by Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding of the concept of poetic justice. And finally their conscious display of artistry and careful attention to Order in Variety would seem to suggest, as it did for earlier romance writers, a conception of their work which mirrors a theodic vision of the universe characterized by order, proportion, and harmony. Whatever steps these great writers may have taken toward a fiction which emphasized the truths of everyday reality (and to be sure, the seeds of a new genre are to be found in their writings), the fact remains that they continued to endorse a truth beyond "everyday existence," a truth best understood in its fictional manifestation through the conventions and intentions of romance.

One need not rely on implicit evidence alone to substantiate the presence in major eighteenth-century fiction of a theodic vision. The prefaces of Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding are as explicit if not more explicit than those preceding seventeenth-century romances. To Defoe, Robinson Crusoe is a history of fact relating the wonders of a man's life:

The Story is told with Modesty, with Seriousness, and with a religious Application of Events to the Uses to which wise Men always apply them (viz) to the Instruction of others by this Example, and to justify and honour the Wisdom of Prov-

idence in all the Variety of our Circumstances;
let them happen how they will.¹⁴³

Both the Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe and the Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe reiterate in their prefaces Defoe's understanding that a "just history of fact" includes "religious and useful inferences,"¹⁴⁴ religious and moral reflections,¹⁴⁵ moral and religious improvement.¹⁴⁶ Moll Flanders records, according to its putative author, "not a wicked action in any part of it, but is first or last rendered Unhappy and Unfortunate: There is not a superlative Villain brought upon the Stage, but either he is brought to unhappy End, or brought to be a Penitent: There is not an ill thing mention'd but it is condemn'd, even in the Relation, nor a vertuous just thing, but it carries its Praise along with it."¹⁴⁷ The primary concern is more with the moral than with the story. As with the other works, Moll Flanders is conceived as "a work from every part of which something may be learned, and some just and religious Inference is drawn" (p. 77). And as expressed in the preface to Colonel Jack, the moral or thing to be learned is within a Christian context:

Every vicious Reader will here be encouraged to a Change, and it will appear that the best and only good End of an impious mispent Life is Repentance; that in this, there is Comfort, Peace, and often Times Hope, that the Penitent shall be received like the Prodigal, and his latter End be better than his Beginning.¹⁴⁸

Defoe assumes in his fiction a context which seeks the

"Instruction and Improvement of the Reader" and asserts the opportunity for "Noble Inferences," "Reproaches of Conscience," and "Repentance."

In the preface to Sir Charles Grandison, Samuel Richardson announced the completion of a "Plan" that places his fiction squarely in the middle of a Christian world view. To its author, Pamela "exhibited the Beauty and Superiority of Virtue in an innocent and unpolished Mind, with the Reward which often, even in this Life, a protective Providence bestows on Goodness."¹⁴⁹ As his second collection of private letters, Clarissa is described by its creator as displaying a heroine who, "as a truly Christian Heroine, proves superior to her Trials"; and whose "Heart, always excellent, refined, and exalted by everyone of them rejoices in the Approach of a happy Eternity" (p. 3). In his final publication, Richardson presents to the public, in Sir Charles Grandison, the "Example of a Man acting uniformly well thro' a Variety of trying Scenes, because all his Actions are regulated by one steady Principle: A Man of Religion and Virtue; of Liveliness and Spirit; accomplished and agreeable; happy in himself, and a Blessing to others" (p. 4). Thus, Sir Charles Grandison, as well as Pamela and Clarissa, is intended, in the "general tenor" of the main character's conduct and principles, as an example of strong inward piety and virtue that are to be imitated. The context within which this imitation should

occur is clearly suggested by Richardson when he concludes his preface to Sir Charles Grandison with a quotation from Tillotson, which, in part, calls for man to aim at the heavens.

The prefaces to Pamela and Clarissa reveal that the "Plan" announced by Richardson in Sir Charles Grandison had not been an afterthought. The purposes of Pamela¹⁵⁰ are, among other things, to: "Divert and Entertain, and at the same time to Instruct, and Improve the Minds of the Youth of both Sexes" (p. iii); "inculcate Religion and Morality" (p. iii); and "paint Vice in its proper Colours, to make it deservedly Odious; and to set Virtue in its own amiable Light, to make it truly Lovely" (p. iv). The context of Clarissa is equally explicit.¹⁵¹ Its preface contains such statements as "Story, or Amusement, should be considered as little more than the Vehicle to the more necessary Instruction" (p. vi) and repeated references to the "Morals of Youth" and "a future State of Rewards and Punishments" (p. iv).

Fielding's fiction also presupposes a moral universe capable of exhibiting a social order to mirror the cosmic harmony. The "authentic history" of Joseph Andrews is presented as a valuable pattern to the world which may perhaps do an extensive service to mankind:

It is a trite but true observation, that examples work more forcibly on the mind than precepts: and if this be just in what is odious

and blameable, it is more strongly so in what is amiable and praiseworthy. Here emulation most effectually operates upon us, and inspires our imitation in an irresistible manner. A good man therefore is a standing lesson to all his acquaintance, and of far greater use in that narrow circle than a good book.¹⁵²

Fielding includes his work among those that afford "many of excellent use and instruction, finely calculated to sow the seeds of virtue in youth, and very easy to be comprehended by persons of moderate capacity" (p. 74). The dedication of Tom Jones to George Lyttelton promises to display the Beauty of Virtue and to convince men that their "true Interest directs them to a Pursuit of her [Virtue]."¹⁵³ The framework for these objectives is Fielding's assurance that the reader will find "in the whole Course of it nothing prejudicial to the Cause of Religion and Virtue; nothing inconsistent with the strictest Rules of Decency, nor which can offend even the chastest Eve in the Perusal" (p. 7). There is evidence to suggest that, rather than finding nothing prejudicial to religion, one discovers a fairly consistent effort to elucidate a Christian framework. The author, for example, refers to himself as a Christian writer (VII. i) and his work as a Picture after Nature herself (XIV. i). He invokes Genius as the "gift of Heaven" which leads him through mazes and labyrinths and initiates the profane into all those mysteries (XIII. i). He defends love as a proper subject by suggesting that to ignore it would be tantamount to comparing the absence of

love in the human breast, denying the existence of God in creation and the presence of virtue and goodness in human nature (VI. i). The conception of a providential universe seems ever on Fielding's mind, as indicated by his discourse comparing the world and the stage (VII. i). The elaborate essay clearly suggests the commonplace image of God the Divine Playwright which in turn brings to mind the analogy between art and God's creation.¹⁵⁴ The dedication of Amelia to Ralph Allen opens with a familiar statement of purpose: "The following book is sincerely designed to promote the cause of virtue, and to expose some of the most glaring evils, as well public as private, which at present infest the country."¹⁵⁵ The context of Fielding's design is implied in the exordium of the first chapter: "Life may as properly be called an art as any other; and the great incidents in it are no more to be considered as mere accidents than the several members of a fine statue or a noble poem" (I. i. 4). Thus, Fielding, like Defoe and Richardson, assumes the existence of a moral universe with intelligible values and then underscores this assumption by invoking and endorsing a traditional Christian context in their fiction.

Judging from the eighteenth-century reader's critical reaction, there is little discrepancy between the prefatory promises and the fictional practices of Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding. Their readers recognized in the

fiction the announced moral intentions and Christian world view. Although he argues the brand of theology, Charles Gildon admits the religious attitude and moral point of view in Robinson Crusoe.¹⁵⁶ J. B. de Freval believes that Richardson has not "said one Word too much in Commendation" about Pamela. In his opinion, it is exemplary because:

The greatest Regard is everywhere paid in to Decency, and to every Duty of Life: There is a constant Fitness of the Style to the Persons and Characters described; Pleasure and Instruction here always go hand in hand; Vice and Virtue are set in constant Opposition, and Religion every-where inculcated in its native Beauty and chearful Amiableness; . . .¹⁵⁷

Agreeing with the French writer, Aaron Hill considers the Beauties of Pamela to include "all the Soul of Religion, Good-breeding, Discretion, Good Nature, Wit, Fancy, Fine Thought, and Morality."¹⁵⁸ Albrecht von Haller prefers Clarissa over Marianne because it "not only amuses, but instructs, and the more effectually, as the writer paints nature, and nature alone."¹⁵⁹ The Swiss critic's admiration is directly connected with the values he observes:

. . . Clarissa is rendered almost inestimable, by those exalted sentiments of piety, virtue, generosity, prudence, and humility, which adorn the person of the heroine, and are inculcated by her discourse and conduct. It is impossible to read the last three volumes without being conscious to a secret elation of mind, a species of delight, equally pure and noble, arising from the contemplation of human nature in the highest perfection to which it can attain by the purest virtue, and the most distinguish'd grace. (p. 136)

The London Magazine assesses The History of Tom Jones as a good composition "calculated to recommend religion and virtue, to shew the bad consequences of indiscretion, and to set several kinds of vice in their most deformed and shocking light."¹⁶⁰ The review concludes by citing the work's just distribution of rewards and punishments and by suggesting that the public read the whole. Although a rival of The London Magazine, The Monthly Review perceives and evaluates Fielding's fiction in essentially the same manner. For example, the ingenious author is seen to have fulfilled the "sacred duties of morality" with Amelia. It is Fielding's "boldest stroke" in which he successfully "presses vice into the service of virtue." Thus, Amelia, as in Joseph Andrews and Tom Jones, shows how "the author imitates nature in inforcing its capital laws; by the attractions of pleasure he puts morality into action; it is alive, and insinuates its greatest truths into the mind, under the colours of amusement and fiction."¹⁶¹ For the readers as well as the authors of eighteenth-century fiction, the nature imitated, the capital laws enforced, and the morality activated are, essentially, the truths of a Christian world view. Their perception of truth, reality, and life included the imitation and exhibition of nature as a moral universe, theologically centered and harmoniously ordered.

A growing contingent of modern critics has identi-

fied and verified various degrees and kinds of religious elements in the fiction of Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding. They reflect, I believe, a significant trend toward the recognition and acceptance of a viable aim "to frame [their] work within a proper conceptual context so that its ethical values and metaphysical foundations can be more accurately and less subjectively apprehended."¹⁶² Whether citing influential sources, describing structural patterns, or giving thematic readings, the ethical values and metaphysical foundations uncovered by this burgeoning canon of criticism are characteristically Christian.

William H. Halewood considers the spiritual adventure and reports of spiritual progress in Robinson Crusoe conclusive enough to insist that Crusoe's religion is "the deliberate achievement of a novelist who knew what he was about."¹⁶³ J. Paul Hunter and G. S. Starr are more specific in their handling of what Defoe "is about." For Hunter, it is the use of the Guide, Providence, and Spiritual Biography traditions that provide the historically grounded religious ideas and metaphors and the artistic control for Robinson Crusoe.¹⁶⁴ For Starr, it is spiritual autobiography that provides a "standard rhythm of conversion" for Moll Flanders and Robinson Crusoe.¹⁶⁵ Even those more interested in other traditions and readings for Defoe acknowledge emblematic methods and Christian themes. For example, Denis Donoghue sees the values of Moll Flan-

ders as primarily bourgeois and trade oriented.¹⁶⁶ However, while asserting that trade is the most important activity in the work, he admits that these values are within a Puritan ethic. Bourgeois attainments are prepared by and with the blessings of "the Harmony of the Creation, and the Beauty and Concern of Providence."

The establishment of a religious milieu for Richardson's fiction has taken several avenues.¹⁶⁷ For example, Frederick W. Hilles' description of the plan of Clarissa suggests an allegorical method mirroring a theodic structure.¹⁶⁸ Arguing a circularly structured plan, he relies heavily upon patterns of metaphors, images, and events which represent a literary as well as cosmic design. For Hilles, references to mazes, labyrinths, Satan and angels, and duplications of life, season, and plot cycles suggest that "the whole universe is concentrating on what is happening to our heroine" (p. 247). Clearly it is a universe of both gods and men. Michael Davitt Bell investigates how Pamela "got written in the first place."¹⁶⁹ Conjecturing Richardson's astute ability to tap a vein of anxiety over the thought of eternal damnation that "lay beneath the surface of eighteenth-century English life," Bell demonstrates the presence in Pamela of: a language with clear and familiar religious connotations (p. 101); a theological under-structure (p. 102); a profoundly Christian pattern of action (p. 106); and a notion of romantic love based

on the adoration of Christ (p. 110). In his article "Richardson's 'Christian Vocation'," John A. Dussinger uses evidence of Richardson's whole career as "master printer, editor, compiler, correspondent, and novelist" to show the eighteenth-century author's direct involvement "in the service of Providence and Heaven."¹⁷⁰ He asserts a religious milieu for Pamela, Clarissa, and Sir Charles Grandison. This theory is based upon what he believes to be Richardson's explicit and implicit emphasis on Old Testament morality, Christ's atonement as a pattern for man's imitation, and divine grace and special Providence as the necessary means of salvation.

Carefully reading Fielding's works in general and The Champion in particular, James A. Work explains the driving force that actuated and gave direction to Fielding's life in terms of Christian beliefs and feelings. He correlates Fielding's passages with such divines as Tillotson, Clarke, and Barrow to show that the author of Tom Jones was "in all significant points an orthodox believer in the rational super-naturalism" of low church Anglicanism.¹⁷¹ Included among these significant points are the beliefs in revealed religion, God's providential intervention, poetic justice, and consolation of divine love. To Work, Henry Fielding was a Christian censor who "applied his analytical and creative powers to the propagation of Christian doctrine and conduct, which he treated with a

fullness and wisdom and force -- with an idealism and a hardheaded practicality -- which made him the nearest successor to Swift and the most important Christian moralist of his generation" (p. 148). In his essay "Interpositions of Providence and the Design of Fielding's Novels," Aubrey Williams demonstrates "that in any Fielding novel the course of events, both as to arrangement or design and as to purpose and implication, is also heavily influenced by the prevailing, that is to say Christian, world-picture of his time."¹⁷² With explicit evidence, he reveals fictive worlds mirroring a Christian vision of human existence characterized by "a pattern of order, a providential design, a providential justice" (p. 286). Other critics second Williams' position. Martin C. Battestin sees one theme of Tom Jones as the "assertion of Design and Providence in the world."¹⁷³ As the expression and emblem of its author's coherent, Christian vision of life, the book is a symbolic embodiment of the "cosmic architecture of Nature," the assertion of order and harmony in creation, and a demonstration by analogy of God's superintending Providence. Amelia and Joseph Andrews have also been seen as works conditioned and characterized by ethical and religious contexts which are fundamentally Christian.¹⁷⁴

As suggested by this brief survey of representative modern criticism, approaches for recognizing and understanding the ethical or metaphysical context of eighteenth-

century fiction may be as varied as a particular critic's methodology, aim, or special interest. Furthermore, individual interpretations of the fiction may diverge; terminology may vary; application of the context may differ. However, my intent is not to argue the relative merits of a modern critic's specific thesis or particular approach. The point is that, coupled with the evidence of eighteenth-century writers' own statements and their readers' reactions to the fiction a segment of modern criticism substantiates the presence of a Christian world view in the fiction of those such as Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding.

Moreover, by showing that eighteenth-century authors such as Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding share basic assumptions about man, society, and the universe which reflect a providential order, design, and justice, I propose that romance and eighteenth-century fiction share another common ground. The common ground rests on more than the abstract sharing of Christianity. The fiction uses the same conventions of design as romance to represent an imagined world imitative and emblematic of a providentially ordered universe. The same ideas of order and harmony and of an overall divine design are evident. Both see their literature as analogous to God's creation. The fiction uses the same conventions of plot as romance to show the presence of divine intervention in human affairs and the existence of poetic justice. Both conceive of a personal deity involved

in the moral struggle in a universe with identifiable values. In fact, authors such as Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding articulate moral and instructive intentions which consistently echo those of earlier romance writers. Eighteenth-century fiction, it seems to me, expresses through romance conventions a perception of an ordered, moral world as traditional and orthodox as that depicted in seventeenth-century and earlier romances.

The recognition in eighteenth-century fiction of an endorsement of a traditional morality and a Christian world view indicates a further need to re-evaluate the "novelistic" approach to that fiction. To insist that these works as novels are the products of a commitment to a new world view is to distort the real accomplishment of eighteenth-century fiction. Rather than a form which "looks upon the particulars of sensory experience as possessing a superior reality to the universals,"¹⁷⁵ eighteenth-century fiction embraces a theodic world view which brings with it a body of assumptions and attitudes. Because of these assumptions, one need not be disturbed by the attention to a form and design more attuned to imitating a divinely ordered universe than to everyday particulars. Instead of expecting only surface texture and individual human experience for its own sake, one can anticipate and consequently comprehend a concern for meaning and moral significance. In lieu of evaluating it as

an unsuccessful "post-Christian struggle to devise a significant idea of self,"¹⁷⁶ the fiction can be read as an artistic affirmation by the hero and society (as well as by the author) of a moral order providentially designed and controlled. There is no need to feel a deficiency because the hero does not really emerge as an individual with his own private philosophical and moral vision. That is for the nineteenth- and twentieth-century conception of the novel. For eighteenth-century fiction the recognition of the conventions and intentions of romance allows us to admit that it depicts the happy attainment of order and harmony by a hero who accepts and is accepted by society. And one need not be disturbed by elements associated with general precepts, morality, and the extraordinary. They too are in perfect agreement with the intentions and conventions of romance.

NOTES

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²The Anatomy of Criticism (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp. 36-37, 107-108, 304-307.

³The Nature of Narrative (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 248.

⁴The Rise of Romance (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

⁵Felperin, pp. 3-54.

⁶J.M.S. Tompkins, The Popular Novel in England, 1770-1800 (London: Constable and Company, 1932), p. 249.

⁷Tompkins, p. 244.

⁸The American Novel and Its Tradition (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1957), p. ix.

⁹The Romance in America: Studies in Cooper, Poe, Hawthorne, Melville, and James (Middleton, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1969), pp. ix-xi.

¹⁰The Pursuit of Form: A Study of Hawthorne and the Romance (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1969), p. xi.

¹¹John J. Richetti, Popular Fiction Before Richardson: Narrative Patterns, 1700-1739 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); Walter R. Davis, Idea and Act in Elizabethan Fiction (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969); Charles Muscatine, Chaucer and the French Tradition: A Study in Style and Meaning (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969).

¹²The History of Romances, An Enquiry into their Origin; Instructions for composing them; An Account of the most Eminent Authors; With Characters and Curious Observations upon the Best Performances of that Kind (1715) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 46.

¹³Nathaniel Ingelo, "A Preface to the Reader, Concerning The Design of this Book," Bentivolio and Urania (1660), pp. C3-D2.

¹⁴Hugh Blair, "'On Fictitious History', Lectures on Rhetoric and Poetry" (1762) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, pp. 247-248.

¹⁵Arthur Murray, "Introduction," The Works of Henry Fielding, Esq; with the Life of the Author (1762) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, pp. 255-262.

¹⁶John Hawkesworth, The Adventurer, IV (Saturday, November 18, 1752) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 191.

¹⁷"To the Reader," Cassandre: The Fam'd Romance. . . into English by Sir Charles Cotterell (London, 1667).

¹⁸William Congreve, "Preface," Incognita (1691) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 28.

¹⁹Robert Boyle, "Such an Account of the following Book, Sent with it to a Friend; As may serve instead of a Preface," Theodora and Didymus (1687), p. a7v.

²⁰Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 45.

²¹The Adventurer, IV (Saturday, November 18, 1742) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 192.

²²Blair's "On Fictitious History" and Canning's The Microcosm article are reprinted in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, pp. 247-251, 341-346. Beattie's "On Fable and Romance" is from Dissertations Moral and Critical, ed. F. O. Wolf (Stuttgart: F. F. Verleg, 1970), III, 505-574.

²³"On the Reading of the Old Romances" (1646) in The Continental Model, ed. Scott Elledge and Donald Schier (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), pp. 31-54.

²⁴The Famous History of the Noble and Valiant Prince of Palmerin of England (1664), p. A3.

²⁵Bentivolio and Urania (1660), p. B1.

²⁶Bentivolio and Urania (1660), p. C.

²⁷The Travels of Cyrus, Fourth Edition (London, 1730), p. ii.

²⁸Ed. R. C. Alston (Menston, England: The Scholar Press, 1969), p. Aa4^r.

²⁹Glossographia Anglicana Nova, ed. R. C. Alston (Menston, England: The Scholar Press, 1969), p. Kk8^r; The New World of Words, ed. R. C. Alston (Menston, England: The Scholar Press, 1969), p. Oooo4^r; Linguae Britannicae Vera Pronunciatio, ed. R. C. Alston (Menston, England: The Scholar Press, 1969), p. Y5^r.

³⁰Samuel Johnson, A Dictionary of the English Language (London, 1755), II. 3x2^r; N. Bailey, The Universal Etymological English Dictionary (1737), ed. R. C. Alston (Menston, England: The Scholar Press, 1969), p. 4R2^v; Thomas Dyche and William Pardon, A New General English Dictionary (1735), ed. R. C. Alston (Menston, England: The Scholar Press, 1969), p. 4x3^v.

³¹John Ash, The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1775), II, 5G2^v; Thomas Sheridan, A General Dictionary of the English Language, ed. R. C. Alston (Menston, England: The Scholar Press, 1967), II, Qqq.

³²Richard Hurd, "Letters on Chivalry and Romance," Works (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1969), IV, 250; James Beattie, "On Fable and Romance," p. 553.

³³Tom Jones, IV. 1. 206-207.

³⁴Felperin, Shakespearean Romance, p. 11. See also Moses Hadas, ed., Three Greek Romances (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964), pp. vii-xiii; Carol Gesner, Shakespeare and the Greek Romances (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1970), pp. 1-46; Fiction (New York, 1912), pp. 111-137; and John Colin Dunlop, History of Prose Fiction (London: George Bell and Sons, 1896), I, 9-91.

³⁵Sarah F. Barrow, The Medieval Society Romances (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924), pp. 68-84.

³⁶Davis, Idea and Act in Elizabethan Fiction, pp. 3-28. See also Alban K. Forcione, Cervantes' Christian Romance (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 13-51 and Dunlop, History of Prose Fiction, II. 149-246, 360-402. A revealing perception of Renaissance romance plotting is to be found in Don Quixote's description of a knight's adventures to Sancho Panza (Miguel de Cervantes, The Ingenious Gentleman Don Quixote de la Mancha, trans. Henry Grattan Doyle [New York: Modern Library, 1950], Part I, Book III, Chapter 7, 145-149).

³⁷Jean Pierre Camus, Nature's Paradox: or, the Innocent Imposter. A Pleasant Polonian History: Originally Intituled Iphigenes, trans. F. Wright (London, 1652), p. A4^v.

³⁸Boyle, Theodora and Didymus, p. A7^r.

³⁹Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 100.

⁴⁰Derrick, "Preface," Memoirs of the Count Du Beauval, pp. A5^v - A5^r.

⁴¹"'Introduction' The Works of Henry Fielding" (1762) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, pp. 255-6.

⁴²The Evolution of the French Novel, 1641-1782 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 34-37.

⁴³"'Postscript' to An Epistle to Daniel Defoe" (1719) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 67.

⁴⁴The Fool, No. 422. "A Censure on the present reigning taste for Novels and Romances, and how to cure it," The London Magazine, XVIII (May, 1749) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 128.

⁴⁵"An Account of Clarissa and Richardson's reply," Gentleman's Magazine, XIX (June-July, 1749) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 131.

⁴⁶Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 136.

⁴⁷Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 178.

⁴⁸Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 250.

⁴⁹Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 251.

⁵⁰Beattie, "On Fable and Romance," p. 566.

⁵¹Beattie, p. 567.

⁵²John Moore, "A View of the Commencement and Progress of Romance," The Works of Tobias Smollett, M.D. (London, 1797), I. lxxxix-lc.

⁵³Moore in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 439.

⁵⁴Robert Alter, Rogue's Progress: Studies in the Picaresque Novel (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 35-57; G. A. Starr, Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965);

Maximillian E. Novak, "Crime and Punishment in Defoe's Roxana," JEGP, LXV (1966), p. 449; John J. Richetti, Popular Fiction Before Richardson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

⁵⁵Ed. Shiv K. Kumar (London: Oxford University Press, 1973).

⁵⁶Ed. Samuel Holt Monk (London: Oxford University Press, 1970).

⁵⁷Ed. James Sutherland (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959).

⁵⁸Ed. William M. Sale, Jr. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1958). See Margaret Dalziel, "Richardson and Romance," AUMLA, XXXIII (1970), 5-24.

⁵⁹Ed. George Sherburn (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962).

⁶⁰Ed. Sheridan Baker (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1972). See Sheridan Baker, "Henry Fielding's Comic Romances," Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, XLV (1960), 411-419; Sheridan Baker, "The Idea of Romance in the Eighteenth Century Novel," Studies in English Literature (University of Tokyo), XXXIX, (1963), 49-61; Robert J. Hartwig, "Pharsamond and Joseph Andrews," Texas Studies in Language and Literature, XIV (1972), 45-52; and Maurice Johnson, Fielding's Art of Fiction (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961), pp. 47-60. Each with relative degrees of timidity or intrepidity suggests that there might be a hint of romance in Joseph Andrews.

⁶¹Ed. Sheridan Baker (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973).

⁶²The Works of Henry Fielding, ed. George Saintsbury (New York: Bigelow, Brown, and Company, n.d.), IV-V. See Sheridan Baker, "Fielding's Amelia and the Materials of Romance," PQ, XLI (1962), 437-449.

⁶³Ian Watt, "The Naming of Characters in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding," RES, XXV (1949), 326.

⁶⁴Watt, "The Naming of Characters," p. 327.

⁶⁵Watt, "The Naming of Characters," p. 327.

⁶⁶Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 65.

⁶⁷"Robinson Crusoe's Preface" to Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe in The Works of Daniel Defoe, ed. G. H. Maynardier (New York: The Jenson Society, 1907), III. ix-x.

⁶⁸Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 74.

⁶⁹For example see Ethel M. Thornbury, Henry Fielding's Theory of the Comic Prose Epic (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1931); Frederick O. Bissell, Jr., Fielding's Theory of the Novel (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1933); and Homer Goldberg, "Comic Prose Epic or Comic Romance: The Argument of the Preface to Joseph Andrews," PQ, XLIII (1964), 193-215.

⁷⁰"'Novel,' 'Romance,' and Popular Fiction in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century," SP, LXX (1973), 91.

⁷¹Art and Reality: Ways of the Creative Process (Garden City: Doubleday, 1961), pp. 131-132.

⁷²Samuel Lee Wolff, The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction (New York: Columbia University Press, 1912), pp. 1-6, 192-220. See also for a discussion of Greek romance structure: Elizabeth Haight, Essays on the Greek Romances (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1965; rept. 1943); Stephen Gaselee, "Appendix on the Greek Novel," The Love Romances of Parthenius and Other Fragments (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1935), pp. 403-13; J. S. Phillimore, "The Greek Romances" in English Literature and the Classics, ed. G. S. Gordon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), pp. 87-117.

⁷³The essence of my discussion of medieval romance structure comes from Eugene Vinaver, The Rise of Romance (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971). Others consulted include R. S. Loomis, The Development of Arthurian Romance (New York: Norton, 1970); Charles Muscatine, Chaucer and the French Tradition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); and A. B. Taylor, An Introduction to Medieval Romance (London: Heath Cranton, 1930).

⁷⁴Vinaver, p. 55.

⁷⁵Vinaver, p. 66.

⁷⁶Vinaver, pp. 68-98.

⁷⁷Vinaver, p. 100.

⁷⁸Vinaver, p. 17.

⁷⁹Vinaver, p. 32.

⁸⁰Vinaver, p. 34.

⁸¹Vinaver, p. 37.

⁸²The clearest statement of the Renaissance conception of romance structure I could find was Alban K. Forcione, Cervantes' Christian Romance: A Study of Perseles y Sigismunda (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 13-63. Others among the most recent studies which reiterate the Renaissance conceptions are: Walter R. Davis, Idea and Act in Elizabethan Fiction (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969); Carol Gesner, Shakespeare and the Greek Romance (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970); and Howard Felperin, Shakespearean Romance (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

⁸³See Thomas P. Haviland, The Roman de Longue Haleine on English Soil (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1931), pp. 41-129; Arthur L. Cooke, The Concept and Theory of Romance from 1650-1800 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1944), pp. 64-67; Thomas F. Crane, "Introduction," Les Heros de Roman (Boston: Athenaeum Press, 1902), pp. 45-136. I have divided the discussion of seventeenth-century romance structure into separate categories of convention and intention in order to facilitate a later application to eighteenth-century fiction. I have used both French and English romances for purposes of substantiation. Most evidence, however, is taken from English editions in order to indicate what was available and popular in eighteenth-century England.

⁸⁴Pierre Daniel Huet, The History of Romances, trans. Stephen Lewis (1715) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 46.

⁸⁵James Beattie, "Essay on Poetry and Music. . ." (1776) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, pp. 252-253. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century critics used the term Unity of Design to describe what I have called Order in Variety. I feel that the latter term is more specific and less confusing since essentially all literature has unity of design in one way or another.

⁸⁶Crane, p. 70.

⁸⁷Ibrahim, or the Illustrious Bassa. The Whole Work . . . And Now Englished by Henry Cogan, Gent. (London, 1674).

⁸⁸Almahide or the Captive Queen. . . Englished by J. Phillips, Gent. (London, 1677).

⁸⁹Cassandre; The Fam'd Romance. . . and Now Elegantly Rendred into English. By Charles Cotterell (London, 1677).

⁹⁰An English translation by J. Phillips (London, 1677).

⁹¹Roger Boyle (London, 1655).

⁹²Zayde. A Spanish History, or, Romance. Originally Written in French. By Monsieur Segray. Done into English by P. Porter. . . (London, 1678).

⁹³Faithfully translated out of Latin into English by Kingsmill Long. . . Second Edition (London, 1636).

⁹⁴English translation (London, 1653).

⁹⁵Translated by John Davies (London, 1656-61 and 1678).

⁹⁶"'Preface' to Ibrahim" (1674) in Prefaces to Fiction ed. Benjamin Boyce (Los Angeles: Augustan Reprint Society, 1952), p. 1. See English Showalter, Jr. The Evolution of the French Novel, 1641-1782 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 127-131. Showalter supports my specific contention about Mme. de Scudery and the general contention for seventeenth-century romance.

⁹⁷"'Preface' to Ibrahim" (1674), pp. 2-3.

⁹⁸Clelia, Part IV, Book II.

⁹⁹(London, 1660), p. C.

¹⁰⁰(London, 1687), p. B2v.

¹⁰¹(London, 1680?), p. A3.

¹⁰²Postscript to An Epistle to Daniel Defoe (1719) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, pp. 66-70.

¹⁰³Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 95.

¹⁰⁴The London Magazine, XVIII (February, 1749) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 126.

¹⁰⁵Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 135.

¹⁰⁶Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 39.

¹⁰⁷"'Preface' to The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe" (1718) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, pp. 64-65.

¹⁰⁸Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, pp. 75-78.

¹⁰⁹See, for instance, G. F. Singer, The Epistolary Novel (New York: Russell and Russell, 1963; rept. 1933); William J. Farrell, "The Style and the Action in Clarissa," SEL, III (1963), 365-375; and J. Konigsberg, Samuel Richardson and the Dramatic Novel (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968).

¹¹⁰"Preface by the Editor" (1740) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, pp. 93-94.

¹¹¹Samuel Richardson, Clarissa: Preface, Hints of Preface, and Postscript, ed. R. F. Brissenden (Los Angeles: Augustan Reprint Society, 1964), pp. iii-viii.

¹¹²Brissenden, pp. 348-370.

¹¹³This idea developed from A. D. McKillop, "Epistolary Technique in Richardson's Novels," Rice Institute Pamphlet, XXXVIII (1951), 36-54.

¹¹⁴Fielding admittedly may have been influenced by other traditions such as the epic. Fielding's use of the epic, it seems to me, only further substantiates his commitment to the fictive values of "pattern." Furthermore, considering what I find to be his explicit use of romance conventions, one should remember that romance and romance theory had been written in direct imitation of epic principles. See Madeleine de Scudery's "Preface to Ibrahim" (1641); Arthur L. Cooke, "Henry Fielding and the Writers of Heroic Romance," PMLA, LXII (1947), 984-994; and Irene Simon, "Early Theories of Prose Fiction: Congreve and Fielding" in Imagined Worlds, eds. Maynard Mack and Ian Gregor (London: Methuen, 1968), pp. 19-35.

¹¹⁵Defoe is perhaps the least conspicuous in this area of the romance tradition. As has been indicated, his fiction uses the digressive-interpolative structure much less than Fielding, Richardson, or other fiction writers of the eighteenth-century. This, however, should not substantially undercut his explicit statements concerning the purpose and design of his art. Defoe's fiction indeed strongly reflects the influence of other traditions, but not to the extent to deny the affirmation of Defoe's endorsement of Order in Variety and the fictive values of "pattern."

¹¹⁶Richard Chase, The American Novel and Its Tradition (New York: Doubleday, 1957), p. 13.

¹¹⁷Chase, p. ix.

¹¹⁸Joel Porte, The Romance in America (Middleton, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1969), p. x.

¹¹⁹One should note that the complicated interdependence between the shape of fiction and the shape of belief is beyond my present scope, though clearly the Christian world view developed not wholly independent from man's primal urge to order the universe.

¹²⁰Aubrey Williams, "Interpositions of Providence and the Design of Fielding's Novels," South Atlantic Quarterly, 70 (1971), 266-267.

¹²¹Thomas Stroup, Microcosmos: The Shape of the Elizabethan Play (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1965), pp. 16-17.

¹²²Samuel Richardson, "Preface by the Editor" in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 93.

¹²³Carol Gesner, Shakespeare and the Greek Romances (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1970); Elizabeth H. Haight, Essays on the Greek Romances (New York: 1933); Samuel Lee Wolff, The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction (New York: Columbia University Press, 1912).

¹²⁴Sarah F. Barrow, The Medieval Society Romances (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924); W. F. Ker, Epic and Romance (London: MacMillan, 1908); and Eugene Vinaver, The Rise of Romance (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

¹²⁵(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), pp. 219-257.

¹²⁶The Medieval World (New York: New American Library, 1963), p. 181.

¹²⁷Walter R. Davis, Idea and Act in Elizabethan Fiction (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 9.

¹²⁸Howard Felperin, Shakespearean Romance (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 23-54.

¹²⁹Alban K. Forcione, Cervantes' Christian Romance (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 29-51.

130 Nature's Paradox: or, The Innocent Imposter. A Pleasant Polonian History: Originally Intituled Iphigenes. Compiled in the French Tongue by the Rare Pen of J. P. Camus, . . . and Now Englished by Major Wright (London, 1652), p. A3.

131 "A Preface to the Reader," Bentivolio and Urania. The Second Part. In Two Books. By Nathaniel Ingelo. The Fourth Edition (London, 1682).

132 Nature's Paradox, p. A3.

133 Prefaces to Four Seventeenth-Century Romances, ed. Charles Davies (Los Angeles: The Augustan Reprint Society, 1953), pp. 3-11.

134 "A Preface to the Reader, Concerning The Design of This Book," Bentivolio and Urania. In Six Books. By Nathaniel Ingelo. The Third Edition with Some Amendments (London, 1673), p. B.

135 "Preface to Ibrahim (1674)," Prefaces to Fiction, ed. Benjamin Boyce (Los Angeles: The Augustan Reprint Society, 1952), p. 1.

136 The Martyrdom of Theodora, and of Didymus. By A Person of Honour (London, 1687), p. A3.

137 "Preface," The Travels of Cyrus, Fourth Edition (London, 1730), pp. iv, v, ix, x.

138 Hymen's Praeludia: or, Love's Master-Piece. Being that So-much Admired Romance, Intituled, Cleopatra. In Twelve Parts. Written Originally in the French, and now Elegantly rendred into English by Robert Loveday (London, 1687), I. I. 4-17; I. II. 18-31.

139 The History of Romances. . . (1715), trans. Stephen Lewis in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, pp. 45-46.

140 The Work of Richard Hurd (Hildesheim: Georg Alms Verlag, 1969), IV. 231.

141 Dissertations Moral and Critical, ed. F. O. Wolf (Stuttgart: F. F. Verlag, 1970), III. 505.

142 The Works of Tobias Smollett, M.D. (London, 1797), I, xv.

143 "'Preface to Robinson Crusoe'" (1719) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 56.

144 "'Preface' to The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe" (1719) in Ioan Williams, p. 64.

145 Ioan Williams, p. 65.

146 Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe in Works, G. H. Maynadier, ed. (New York: The Jenson Society, 1907), III. ix-x.

147 "'Preface' to Moll Flanders" (1722) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 77.

148 Ioan Williams, p. 74.

149 "Preface," Sir Charles Grandison, ed. Jocelyn Harris (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), I, 3.

150 Samuel Richardson's Introduction to Pamela, Sheridan W. Baker, Jr., ed. (Los Angeles: Augustan Reprint Society, 1954), pp. iii-vi.

151 R. F. Brissenden, pp. iii-viii.

152 Joseph Andrews, ed. Sheridan Baker (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1972), I. I. 73.

153 Tom Jones, ed. Sheridan Baker (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), pp. 7-8.

154 See Stroup, Microcosmos, pp. 15-16 and Aubrey Williams, "Poetical Justice, The Contrivances of Providence, and the Works of William Congreve," ELH, 35 (1968), 547-553.

155 Amelia, ed. A. R. Humphreys (New York: Dutton, 1962), I, xv.

156 "An Epistle to Daniel Defoe" (1719) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, pp. 57-63.

157 "Introductory Material to Pamela," (1740) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 95.

158 "Introductory Material to Pamela," (1741) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 103.

159 "An Account of Clarissa and Richardson's Reply," Gentleman's Magazine, XIX (June and July, 1759) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 132.

¹⁶⁰"A Review of Tom Jones (1749)," The London Magazine, XVIII (February, 1749) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 126.

¹⁶¹"A Review of Amelia (1751)," The Monthly Review, V (December, 1751) in Ioan Williams, Novel and Romance, p. 172.

¹⁶²Aubrey Williams, "Interpositions of Providence and the Design of Fielding's Novels," p. 285.

¹⁶³"Religion and Invention in Robinson Crusoe," Essays in Criticism, 14 (1964), 351. Others taking the religious aspect of Defoe's fiction seriously include: Robert W. Ayers, "Robinson Crusoe: Allusive Allegorick History," PMLA, 82 (1967), 399-407; M. A. Goldberg, "Moll Flanders: Christian Allegory in a Hobbesian Mode," The University Review, 33 (1967), 267-278; M. J. Grief, "The Conversion of Robinson Crusoe," SEL, 6 (1966), 551-574; Ralph E. Jenkins, "The Structure of Roxana," Studies in Novel, 2 (1970), 145-158; Roger Lloyd, "The Riddle of Defoe: Impact of the Evangelical Challenge," Church Times (July 16, 1954), p. 654; James Moffat, "The Religion of Robinson Crusoe," Contemporary Review, 115 (1919), 664-669; Scri Sen, Daniel Defoe: His Mind and Art (Calcutta, 1948); J. H. Smith, "The Theology of Robinson Crusoe," Holborn Review, n.s., 16 (1925), 37-47; James Sutherland, Defoe (London: Methuen, 1937); and E. M. W. Tillyard, The Epic Strain in the English Novel (London: Chatto and Windus, 1958), pp. 25-50.

¹⁶⁴The Reluctant Pilgrim: Defoe's Emblematic Method and Quest for Form (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), pp. 202-211.

¹⁶⁵Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. vi-xiii.

¹⁶⁶"The Values of Moll Flanders," Sewanee Review, 71 (1963), 287-303. Others having other theses but who admit the religious context of Defoe's fiction include, for example, Maximillian E. Novak ("Crime and Punishment in Roxana," JEGP, 65 [1966], 445-465) and J. H. Raleigh ("Style and Structure and Their Import in Defoe's Roxana," University of Kansas City Review, 20 [1953], 128-135).

¹⁶⁷See Gerald A. Barker, "The Complacent Paragon: Exemplary Characterization in Richardson," SEL, 9 (1969), 503-519; Gillian Beer, "Richardson, Milton, and the Status of Evil," RES, 19 (1968), 261-270; Edward Copeland, "Allegory and Analogy in Clarissa," ELH, 39 (1972), 254-265; John A. Dussinger, "Conscience and the Pattern of Christian Perfection in Clarissa," PMLA, 81 (1966), 236-245 and "Richardson's Tragic Muse," PQ, 46 (1967), 18-33; Donald E.

Morton, "Theme and Structure in Pamela," Studies in Novel, 3 (1971), 242-257; Roger Sharrock, "Richardson's Pamela: The Gospel and the Novel," Durham University Journal, 28 (1966), 67-74; and Allen Wendt, "Clarissa's Coffin," PQ, 39 (1960), 481-495.

¹⁶⁸Frederick W. Hilles, "The Plan of Clarissa," PQ, 45 (1966), 236-248.

¹⁶⁹Michael D. Bell, "Pamela's Wedding and the Marriage of the Lamb," PQ, 49 (1970), 100-112.

¹⁷⁰John A. Dussinger, "Richardson's 'Christian Vocation'," Papers on Language and Literature, 3 (1967), 3-19.

¹⁷¹James A. Work, "Henry Fielding, Christian Censor" in The Age of Johnson, ed. Frederick W. Hilles (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949), pp. 139-148.

¹⁷²Aubrey Williams, "Interpositions of Providence and the Design of Fielding's Novels," p. 266.

¹⁷³"Tom Jones: The Argument of Design" in The Augustan Milieu, eds. H. D. Miller and others (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 289-319.

¹⁷⁴See Sheridan Baker, "Fielding's Amelia and the Materials of Romance," PQ, 41 (1962), 446; Martin C. Battestin, The Moral Basis of Fielding's Art (Middleton, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1959); William W. Combs, "The Return to Paradise Hall: An Essay on Tom Jones," South Atlantic Quarterly, 67 (1968), 419-436; Henry K. Miller, "Some Functions of Rhetoric in Tom Jones," PQ, 45 (1966), 209-235; E. T. Palmer, "Fielding's Tom Jones Reconsidered," English, 20:107 (1971), 45-50; B. L. Reid, "Utmost Merriment, Strictest Decency: Joseph Andrews," Sewanee Review, 75 (1967), 559-584; D. S. Thomas, "Fortune and the Passions in Fielding's Amelia," MLR, 60 (1965), 176-187; Howard D. Weinbrot, "Chastity and Interpolation: Two Aspects of Joseph Andrews," JEGP, 69 (1970), 14-31; and Allan Wendt, "The Naked Virtue of Amelia," ELH, 27 (1960), 131-148.

¹⁷⁵Robert Donovan, The Shaping Vision: Imagination in the English Novel from Defoe to Dickens (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966), p. 11.

¹⁷⁶Calvin Bedient, Architects of the Self (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), p. 2.

CHAPTER III

Tobias Smollett seems to have had more than ample opportunity to be familiar with the romance tradition. As a translator, he published The Adventures of Gil Blas of Santillane in 1748. This four volume work is well known as a significant text in the picaresque tradition. Smollett's intimacy with Gil Blas suggests an intimacy with a tradition commonly defined as inverted romance. Smollett is also reputed to have begun as early as 1748 his translation of The History and Adventures of the Renowned Don Quixote.¹ The two volume work was published on February 25, 1755.² It is also generally accepted that Smollett translated Fenelon's The Adventures of Telemachus which appeared posthumously in 1776. In fact, a receipt signed by Smollett shows that he had completed his translation of Telemachus well before April 1, 1767.³ As indicated in the first part of Chapter One, both Telemachus and Don Quixote were extremely popular works, central to the romance tradition. That Smollett translated these three works not only indicates his insight into the literary tastes of his century (and therefore his desire to profit from them), but also suggests more than a passing acquaintance with the particular works.

Smollett's letters also indicate a familiarity with

romance. Throughout the 1970 edition of The Letters of Tobias Smollett, there are numerous references to Ariosto, Cervantes, Orlando Furioso, and romance in general.⁴

Smollett apparently considered himself something of an authority, for he is quite outspoken in his evaluation of others' critical readings of Ariosto (letter 38). Also noteworthy is that in the fourth letter included by Knapp, Smollett writes ". . . I have finished a Romance in two small volumes" (p. 6). Dated 1747, Smollett is, of course, referring to Roderick Random.

Smollett's fiction itself contains many allusions which indicate his familiarity with romances of the seventeenth century and earlier. All five works, as did a good deal of eighteenth-century fiction, contain a vast number of allusions to Cervantes' Don Quixote. These allusions typically refer either to characters such as Don Quixote, Sancho Panza, and Dulcinea; to events such as those at the windmill and those surrounding Mambrino's Helmet; or to the general spirit of Quixotism. It is the allusions, however, to authors, titles, and characters in other romances that suggest more convincingly Smollett's familiarity with romance. The preface to Roderick Random provides a brief historical sketch of the origin and development of romance.⁵ Within Roderick Random, the familiarity with romances is more explicit. For example, in volume two, Miss Williams describes a suitor:

There was so much of knight-errantry in this gentleman's coming to the relief of a damsel in distress, with whom he immediately became enamoured, that all I had read of love and chivalry recurred to my fancy, and I looked upon myself as a princess in some region of romance, who, being delivered from the power of a brutal giant or satyr by a generous Oroondates, was bound in gratitude, as well as led by inclination, to yield my affections to him without reserve.

(II. xxii. 5)

"Generous Oroondates" is, of course, the hero in La Calprenede's seventeenth-century heroic romance Cassandre. Roderick, in his courtship of Narcissa, alludes to Tasso and Ariosto in general (II. xxxix. 175) and to Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered (II. xxxix. 179), specifically.

Ferdinand Count Fathom is rich with references to romance heroes such as "perfect Oroondates" (I. xxxii. 258), Belisarius (II. xl. 12), Guy Earl of Warwick (II. xli. 19), and Tarquin (II. xlix. 98); to heroines such as Penthesilea (I. iv. 21; I. xvii. 123); and to giants such as Urganda (I. xxiii. 162). This last allusion to the giant is introduced so as to emphasize the world of romance:

It [contrast between an Italian and the abbel] resembled those discords in music, which, properly disposed, contribute to the harmony of the whole piece; or those horrible giants, who, in the world of romance, used to guard the gates of the castle in which the enchanted damsel was confined.

(I. xxiii. 162)

Sir Launcelot Greaves reveals a familiarity with romance with allusions to Ariosto (xv. 197) and to the medieval romance Valentine and Orson (x. 133). However, more revealing are the title characters' expansive discourses on

the defense of knight-errantry (Chapter ii), on the procedure of a novice's probation (Chapter vi), on the ideas behind knight-errantry (Chapter vii), and on the goals of a knight-errant (Chapter xiii). Each reveals a detailed and extensive knowledge of the ideas (as was indicated in the third section of Chapter Two) that pervaded and influenced most romances.

In Humphry Clinker the references vary from the obvious to the subtle. On one hand, one notes the mention of the Arabian Nights Entertainment and the Persian Tales (I. 138-139), of Mme. de Scudery's title character Ibrahim (I.170), and of Arcadia (II. 122). In contrast, the references to Amazons (I. 78) and to "a skin as fair as alabaster" (I. 122) are delicate connections to traits characteristically evident in romances.

Whether obvious or subtle, it seems that there is sufficient "external" evidence of Smollett's interest in and familiarity with the romance tradition. It is in the plots, structures, and world view of his fiction, however, that the importance of an understanding of romance is most evident, for Smollett's fictions are best comprehended through the form and intention of the genre of romance. That the 1797 first edition of The Works of Tobias Smollett, M.D. contains in the first volume a ninety-five page essay entitled "A View of the Commencement and Progress of Romance" is no coincidence, as I hope to demonstrate in my examination of Smollett's five major fictions.⁶

I. SMOLLETT'S DESIGN AND CONTEXTURE OF PLOT

An examination of Smollett's fiction discloses the substantial presence of traditional conventions of the romance plot. As with the works of Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding, there is in Smollett's works most assuredly experimentation with the romance conventions (and in some cases reversals of them), and other genres also contribute something to the end result. But the overall plot of these works is clearly the plot of romance, reflected in the narration of a hero's successful progression through a series of adventures usually motivated and rewarded by love; the testing pattern characterized by batteries of involved complications and delaying entanglements; the movement toward satisfaction marked by fortuitous events over expansive settings; and the final total resolution with virtue rewarded and vice punished.

In The Adventures of Roderick Random (1748), Roderick Random is captivated by Narcissa at first sight. From her introduction to the new footman, adorable Narcissa represents Roderick's attachment to society and hopes for happiness and success (II. xxxix). Her presence often sustains and protects him during his peregrinations. Roderick himself marks the process and happy conclusion of his adventures in terms of love: "The impetuous transports of my passion are now settled and mellowed into endearing fond-

ness and tranquility of love, rooted by that intimate connexion and interchange of hearts which nought but virtuous wedlock can produce"(III. lxix. 260).

Nor is love restricted only to the main character and his story. Success in love signifies good fortune for Thompson whose addresses are not disdained by the only daughter of a gentleman and for Strap whose marriage to Miss Williams occasions his appointment as an overseer and a gift of five hundred pounds.

But the success and reward of love does not come easy. Roderick, especially, must suffer through many involved complications and entanglements that test him strenuously. Roderick's own account of his career amazes Strap:

During the recital, my friend was strongly affected, according to the various situations described. He started with surprise, glowed with indignation, gaped with curiosity, smiled with pleasure, trembled with fear, and wept with sorrow, as the vicissitudes of my life inspired these different passions; and, when my story was ended, signified his amazement on the whole, by lifting up his eyes and hands, and protesting, that though I was a young man, I had suffered more than all the blessed martyrs.

(II. xliv. 227)

Character after character reminds the reader (with increasing frequency as the end draws near) of Roderick's suffering at the hands of Fortune.

In Roderick Random, Roderick describes a character's progress from the heights of pride through the depths of despair to an affirmation of himself within a societal con-

text. Rather than primarily a vehicle for social comment and satire (a defining characteristic of the picaresque), Roderick's adventures are a test in the tradition of the romance quest. Just prior to meeting and falling instantly in love with Narcissa, Roderick is received and helped by an old woman suspected of witchcraft. Roderick relates his adventures "without exaggeration or reserve" (II. xxxviii. 162). The old woman's reaction to Roderick's narrative not only foreshadows what is to follow but also establishes the spirit in which the preceding events are to be taken: "She seemed surprized at the vicissitudes I had undergone, and drew a happy presage of my future life from my past sufferings; then launched out into the praise of adversity with so much ardour and good sense . . ." (II. xxxviii. 162). Hence Smollett defines for us the way we are to read the adventures Random has thus far encountered: the hero's story is one of a mistreated, penniless orphan subjected to the vicissitudes of fortune. Roderick is thrown out of his grandfather's home, removed from an apprenticeship, and subjected to the hazards of the road and the sea from London to the West Indies. He encounters such experiences as duels, wars, robberies, fortune hunting, and other knaveries of the world in a context strongly suggestive of the picaresque (inverted romance) tradition. Roderick Random is heavily satiric as it lashes out at a variety of social settings and character types. Telling his tale,

Roderick leads us into inns, stage coaches, the streets of London, and the drawing rooms of the great and into the company of card sharps, prostitutes, homosexuals, criminals, and fools. Along the way, Smollett indulges his satiric wit (and Roderick's fists) against a disorderly and disordered world. These adventures represent more than the life of a rogue struggling against a hostile society, more than the satiric vehicle for an attack on society; they represent the testing by adversity which, with its promise of growth and reward, is central to the romance.

Roderick's earlier reaction to his sufferings is marked by a pride equalled only by his despair. For example, when Tom Bowling is no longer able to support him, Roderick sees himself "no ways comprehended within the scheme or protection of Providence" (I. vii. 48). He then asserts a credo appropriate for a true picaro:

I was no longer a pert unthinking coxcomb, giddy with popular applause, and elevated with the extravagance of hope: my misfortunes had taught me how little the caresses of the world, during a man's prosperity, are to be valued by him; and how seriously and expeditiously he ought to set about making himself independent of them. My present appearance, therefore, was the least of my care, which was wholly engrossed in laying up a stock of instruction that might secure me against the caprice of fortune for the future. (I. vii. 54-55)

Roderick is, in his opinion, independent of God and society and capable of handling anything.

The attainment of "the happy future" for Roderick

is to come, as in most romance plots, with the love of a heroine. Narcissa is this heroine with

her stature tall, her shape unexceptionable; her hair that fell down upon her ivory neck in ringlets, black as jet; her arched eyebrows of the same colour; her eyes piercing, yet tender; her lips of the consistence and hue of cherries; her complexion clear, delicate, and healthy; her aspect noble, ingenuous, and humane; and the whole person so ravishingly delightful, that it was impossible for any creature endued with sensibility, to see without admiring, and admire without loving her to excess! (II. xxxix. 172)

It is worth noting that Roderick meets Narcissa soon after the old woman's commentary upon adversity, and that his behavior changes rather considerably in the heroine's presence. In contrast to his earlier pride and independence, Roderick now submits to a higher design, primarily because he now can recognize his deficiencies. Having providentially defended Narcissa from Sir Timothy Thicket's brutality, Roderick proclaims his love in terms of his individual deficiencies:

'Dear Madam, I am an unfortunate gentleman, and love you to distraction, but would have died a thousand deaths rather than make this declaration under such a servile appearance, were I not determined to yield to the rigour of my fate, to fly from your bewitching presence, and bury my presumptuous passion in eternal silence.'

(II. xli. 189)

Most assuredly Roderick does not escape further vicissitudes of fortune and tests of his pride. Later separated from Narcissa, he encounters numerous mishaps while on the road (Chapter xlii), in the French army (Chapters

xliii-xliv), and in English society (Chapters xlvii, li) which occasion a return of prideful despair. In these trials he makes repeated remarks such as "I could not comprehend the justice of that Providence" (II. xliii. 211). Narcissa is instrumental (whether in thought or appearance) in Roderick's responding well to the tests of adversity, pride, and despair. Two prime examples include running into Narcissa at a ball in Bath and receiving a letter from her after being arrested for a debt. At the ball, Roderick is with Miss Snapper and well along in a scheme of fortune hunting (an apt emblem of the prideful attempt to alter "Fortune"). Roderick's reaction to Narcissa's presence almost instantaneously terminates the campaign for Miss Snapper and her fortune. Our hero's attentions are now wholly directed to love and the mistress of his soul. Significantly as a result of this meeting, Roderick exhibits uncharacteristic humility and control: ". . . that profound veneration which her presence always inspired, restrained the unseasonable impulse" (III. lv. 198); "I assented to the justness of her [Miss Williams'] remonstrance, and desired she would assist me with her advice and direction" (III. lv. 102).

However, Narcissa is swept away and Roderick is faced with further tests. Narcissa's absence exposes Roderick to the temptations of his own pride.

In short, melancholy and despondence took possession of my soul; and repining at that Providence, which, by acting the stepmother towards me, kept me from the fruition of my wishes, I determined in a fit of despair, to risk all I had at the gaming-table, with a view of acquiring a fortune sufficient to render me independent for life, or of plunging myself into such a state of misery as would effectually crush every ambitious hope that now tortured my imagination.

(III. lx. 149-150)

Again, the prideful assertion of his independence plunges Roderick into misery in the forms of debt and subsequent imprisonment. But again, a letter from Narcissa restores his faith in society and leads to a reestimation of himself after having suffered severe gambling losses in London. "This kind letter afforded me great consolation I began to be reconciled to my fate. . ." (III. lxi. 154).

Thus, Roderick Random's plot presents overall the romance plot's testing pattern. Rather than the episodic and repetitive depiction of a character's unending hostility to society characteristic of the picaresque tradition, Smollett's first major fictional work resembles the traditional quest-like movement to a more complete and more perfect society. Roderick frequently laments his "want of merit" and his unworthiness. On the other hand, Narcissa is "all goodness and perfection" destined for the arms of "some more favoured being." Her goodness and perfection are often couched in terms of societal harmony and order. For example, when Roderick runs into his love

at Bath, Miss Williams admonishes him for his rash and premature conduct.

"How favourable soever," said she, "my lady's inclination towards you may be, you may depend upon it, she will not commit the smallest trespass on decorum, either in disclosing her own, or in receiving a declaration of your passion; and although the great veneration I have for you has prompted me to reveal what she communicated to me in confidence, I know so well the severity of her sentiments with respect to the punctilios of her sex, that, if she could learn the least surmise of it, she would not only dismiss me as a wretch unworthy of her benevolence, but also for ever shun the efforts of your love." (III. lv. 101-102)

The identification of Narcissa with societal order is also made by Roderick himself. While nearing total despair in prison after hearing Melopoy'n's story, he remarks:

Notwithstanding all I had suffered from the knavery and selfishness of mankind, I was amazed and incensed at the base indifference which suffered such uncommon merit as he possessed to languish in obscurity, and struggle with all the miseries of a loathsome jail; and should have blessed the occasion that secluded me from such a perfidious world, had not the remembrance of the amiable Narcissa preserved my attachment to that society of which she constituted a part.
(III. ixiv. 196)

Roderick's attachment to society is a barometer of his worthiness for Narcissa. How he responds to his separations from Narcissa and to the seemingly unending battery of physical and financial setbacks provides the focus for Roderick's adventures and marks the progress of his movement to worthiness.

But Roderick does not progress entirely on his own

merits or on the impetus of Narcissa's love. As in the conventional romance plot, fortuitous events and chance occurrences contribute substantially to the hero's physical and spiritual movement. Ultimately, in one way or another, these events expedite the fulfillment of Roderick's quest. Without Tom Bowling's misfortune on the Thunder (I. vi), Roderick would still be an apprentice with Roger Potion. He would never have been launched into the world and experienced what was in store for him. Falling victim to the press gang was another fortunate event (II. xxiv). Having tried and failed legitimately to ship out as a surgeon, Roderick is rescued from despair and starvation when he is shanghaied. By chance he is taken to the Thunder, his uncle's letter is discovered, and he runs into old friends of his uncle. Before one knows it, Roderick has a vocation and a set of friends, both of which will prove to be extremely useful later. The Lizard's running aground and the subsequent unsuccessful duel with Crampley are another "blessings" in disguise (II. xxxvii). The injury received necessitates the "witch's" treatment and leads to the all important introduction to Narcissa. Again, "chance" intercedes for our hero. In Chapter xli, Sir Timothy assaults Narcissa: "But Heaven would not suffer so much goodness to be violated; and sent me, who, passing by accident near the place, was alarmed with her cries, to her succour" (II. xli. 187). Roderick's rescue is fortuitous, but the

fortune is not all good. Although provided an opportunity to demonstrate his love, the hero must flee in fear of reprisal for injuries sustained to Sir Timothy.

Again, however, chance meetings characterize the plot. While fleeing, Roderick re-encounters Bowling, Strap, Narcissa, and Miss Williams, all of whom provide succour during his trials. As with the meeting at Bath with Narcissa, these chance encounters continually and unexpectedly rescue Roderick from a bad situation or from despair. The lucky discovery of Strap as the valet Monsieur d'Es-trapes frees Roderick from the French army (Chapter xlv); the coincidental appearance of Miss Williams as Narcissa's servant provides an invaluable confidant for Roderick's renewed quest for Narcissa (Chapter lv); the fortunate arrival of Bowling opens avenues for Roderick to escape despair, to pay outstanding debts, and to obtain financial security (Chapter lxiv).

As is customary, it is a chain of extraordinary coincidences and circumstances which leads to the romance plot's closing convention -- the successful and total resolution of the quest's complications, with virtue rewarded and vice punished. Tom Bowling suddenly appears from the coast of Guinea to free Roderick from prison. Bowling has the wherewithal because he has been lucky enough to assume a dead captain's command at sea, to defeat a French privateer, to capture a Martinico merchant ship, and to gain

the favor of ship owners and therefore the command of a large ship. These circumstances then allow Bowling to subsidize Roderick on a South American business venture which not only provides a tidy profit, but also leads to the discovery of Roderick's long lost father in South America where he has an ample estate.

When Roderick, as an independently wealthy man, returns to claim Narcissa, fortuitous events have further simplified the once complex situation. The troublesome squire is preoccupied with his new bride, the once-irksome coquette, Melinda; suitor Quiverwit has married another. Thus, Roderick Random rushes to a conventional happy ending. Roderick marries Narcissa and rectifies their reputation in London society. He retires to Scotland, reclaims the delinquent estate, and is welcomed by the joyous masses. As Roderick notes, "Fortune seems determined to make ample amends for her former cruelty" (III. lxix. 260). Roderick will apparently recover his wife's fortune; Narcissa is pregnant. Those who wronged him are either dead, down-trodden, or outcasts. Tom Bowling has returned happily to the sea; Strap marries Miss Williams and becomes overseer to Roderick's father's estate.

There is little doubt that this is primarily the plot of the romance rather than the picaresque world. But one must admit, too, that there is more to Roderick Random than a conventional romance plot. There is the topical

interest inherent in the naval and Scottish scenes, the satire on London and English society, and the authenticity of Smollett's descriptions. There is also the work's considerable attention to man's folly and the world's evils. And finally, there is the exuberant comedy of the Rabelaisian variety.

As well as not totally accounting for the work's diverse elements, an overzealous insistence upon Roderick Random as a romance could be somewhat of a misrepresentation of its plot, which is, in truth, not entirely conventional. With the first person narration, there seems to be a strong autobiographical aspect to the story. The reader spends a considerable amount of time with Roderick before the love interest and focus on Narcissa is introduced. Furthermore, although Roderick is not a criminally inclined vagabond and a hero of a romance is supposed to be flawed, one must be extremely generous to forgive Roderick many traits, including a real streak of vicious vindictiveness, before recognizing him as a hero. Roderick seems to be almost too flawed a human to be a romance plot's title character, and indeed Smollett may have some trouble even at the end convincing the reader that his hero is worthy of Narcissa.

Topical allusion, social satire, the attack, both through Roderick and directed at him, upon human vice and folly, all suggest Smollett's abiding interest in Roderick

Random in the inverted mirror of romance, satire and the picaresque. My point is, however, that it is ultimately not the distorted world of satire, but the ordered world of romance that most amply informs and explains the work. Ronald Paulson, for example, clearly demonstrates how Smollett altered and in so doing avoided the traditional picaresque tale;⁷ and Robert D. Spector is equally persuasive in his argument that the work cannot qualify as formal satire.⁸ What remains is the plot of romance as I have defined it, which, in spite of Spector's reluctance to accept this,⁹ is the one genre able to account for all the major elements of the work, with the exception of the autobiographical urge which might well be considered the harbinger, however faint, of the "new way of writing," that is, of the novel.

In 1751, Smollett published his second major work of prose fiction, The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle, which represents a more expansive use of the conventions of the traditional romance plot though it shares with Roderick Random certain elements from the satiric and picaresque traditions. Peregrine certainly has a "satiric disposition." Starting at an early age, he plays pranks to "punish the victim's particular folly" and makes fun of foolish people.¹⁰ Smollett's methods range from the presentation of intensive caricatures to the depiction of elaborate comic episodes. These satiric occasions

arise primarily during Peregrine's youth at the Garrison, his London experiences, and his continental adventures. There are a multitude of targets: French customs and institutions; false taste and empty learning; vices of high and low society; and the myriad aspects of medicine, law, politics, and religion. But as Ronald Paulson admits, only individual, isolated scenes or situations are satiric.¹¹ The satire does not lead anywhere; it does not account for the carefully unfolded plot.

One might also make a case for the presence of the picaresque tradition in Peregrine Pickle by selecting events which highlight the picaro's endless wanderings, untiring assumption of new roles, and experiences with the peaks and plunges of capricious fortune.¹² With Peregrine's story beginning before his birth and moving through his education, his life at the Garrison, his Grand Tour, and his struggles in London, Peregrine Pickle has been read as "the life, career, and development of a rogue" and as an attempt to expose the corruption of society through the suffering of an individual.¹³ Both Alter and Giddings, however, make use of only limited and supportive evidence in arguing their similar cases. The fact is that in no way can it be said that the plot of Peregrine Pickle grows "organically through the figure of Peregrine cast in his role as a rogue."¹⁴ To focus upon satire or a rogue's progress is to ignore major aspects of the plot, including

the love story, the entanglements, and the pattern of testing, all of which clearly indicate that we are again confronted with a romance.

For Peregrine Pickle, Miss Emilia Gauntlet "in a moment rivetted the chains of his slavery beyond the power of accident to unbind" (I. xvii. 147). As the narrator remarks, their accidental meeting "detached him from an abyss of folly and contempt" (I. xvii. 143). Clearly this is a love powerful enough to motivate any hero through the most extraordinary and difficult series of adventures. Peregrine's subsequent adventures frequently bring him to the edge of the abyss, but Emilia always seems to be there to save him from his pride. The state of Peregrine's relationship with Emilia serves as a barometer for the hero's career. Peregrine's pride and affectation lead him not only to attack and lose Emilia, but also to almost simultaneous social and financial ruin. On the other hand, Emilia's arrival in London, her expression of concern for Peregrine, and his subsequent tumults of love herald a series of events which reestablish the hero. The marriage of Peregrine and Emilia signifies the enjoyment of good fortune and perfect felicity. Mr. Clover and Julia Pickle and Godfrey Gauntlet and Sophy are among others who find happiness through love and marriage.

Unlike Narcissa in Roderick Random, Emilia appears just as Peregrine is beginning to "adopt the pride and

sentiments of a man" (I. xvii. 142). At this ripe age of fourteen, "young Adonis" is overcome by a love that is to enslave and sustain him for years and hundreds of pages. The description of Miss Gauntlet paints that unique beauty possessed by every romance heroine:

She seemed to be of his own age, was tall, and, though slender, exquisitely shaped; her hair was auburn, and in such plenty, that the barbarity of dress had not been able to prevent it from shading both sides of her forehead, which was high and polished; the contour of her face was oval, her nose very little raised in the aquiline form, that contributed to the spirit and dignity of her aspect; her mouth was small, her lips plump, juicy, and delicious, her teeth regular and white as driven snow, her complexion incredibly delicate and glowing with health, and her full blue eyes beamed forth vivacity and love.
(I. xvii. 144)

From love at first sight to the subsequent utterings of fervid passion and the heroine's affected reserve, few motifs from the traditional love story of romance are omitted. The hero and heroine meet in gardens, exchange tokens, and experience the depths of despair and the heights of passion. The hero sends poetry and love letters; he rescues her from a fire; he presents her with gifts. Peregrine Pickle is the story of a hero's quest for the love of the heroine.

The enjoyment of good fortune and perfect felicity at the end of the quest does not come before a long and exhaustive tale of entanglements, complications, trials, and tests. Peregrine himself employs the characteristic

romance idiom to describe his suffering. Upon his chance meeting with the Gauntlets, he begs forgiveness for his rudeness by asking them to take into consideration "the long and unhappy exile which he had suffered, from the jewel of his soul" (III. "Chapter the Last." 323-324). The most immediate complication is the usual one of familial resistance to their love. On one side, Commodore Trunnion is anxious over Peregrine's "pursuit of an idle amour, which could not fail of interfering in a dangerous manner with the plan of his education" (I. xviii. 159). Commodore Trunnion's anxiety results in Peregrine's separation from Emilia -- Peregrine is sent on a continental tour. On the other side, Emilia's brother looked upon his sister's admirer as "a young student, raw from the university, and utterly ignorant of mankind" (I. xxvii. 237). Godfrey questions Peregrine's character and intentions, and animosities develop into a duel.

Commodore Trunnion's insistence that Peregrine be sent "on his travels, in the course of which he would, in all probability, forget the amusements of his greener years" (I. xxv. 223) leads to another series of entanglements and complications. Representative of Peregrine's difficulties on tour are his experiences with Mrs. Hornbeck, Amanda, Pallet and the doctor. His amatory indiscretions with Mrs. Hornbeck and Amanda result in his participation in duels, fights, arrests, and general uproar

all over the continent with all sorts of people. Besides the occasion for satire (both humorous and savage), these events detain, distract, and divert Peregrine from his true goal. For example, when Peregrine first arrives in France, he immediately sends a "very tender billet" to his dear Emilia. But he has also met Mrs. Hornbeck and begins the first in a long series of amorous advances. Thus, just two chapters after writing the "very tender billet," Peregrine disregards a "kind postscript from his charming Emilia" because "his imagination was engrossed by conquests that more agreeably flattered his ambition" (II. xli. 54). Assignations, faked fires, bribery, and forcible advances come to dominate; the passion for Emilia is apparently replaced by his passion for self-aggrandizement.

Peregrine's amatory indiscretions reveal his growing vanity and suggest the results of such pride. The affairs with Mrs. Hornbeck and Amanda, for example, not only turn out unsatisfactory for Peregrine but also end in societal and spiritual disruption. A preliminary indiscretion with Mrs. Hornbeck led Peregrine to a public insult, a duel, an injury, and public arrest for acting "in contempt of the laws" (II. xl. 52). A subsequent and final encounter with Mrs. Hornbeck (due to "the dictates of ridiculous pride") broadens and intensifies the upheavals: husband, tutor, policeman, magistrate, and ambassador show Peregrine how his rash elopement with a married woman poses

extreme difficulties for his reputation, his nation, and his soul (Chapter xli). Peregrine's series of misadventures with Amanda are not only frustrating to his pride and desires, but also occasion repeated reminders that such prideful and immoral behavior is contrary to virtue and customarily "punished and prevented by the immediate interposition of Heaven" (II. lv. 171).

Mr. Pallet and the doctor represent another variety of misadventures, disputes, and arrests which result in detaining and distracting Peregrine. While also an opportunity for satire, the events associated with these two characters again illustrate Peregrine's developing vanity and pride. Thinking himself "sufficiently qualified for eclipsing most of his contemporaries in England," Peregrine finds Mr. Pallet and the doctor from the first meeting in the Palais Royal (II. xlii) to be "an infinite fund of diversion." Peregrine delights in mocking them for their "solemnity and pride" and for their "vanity and assurance." He finds each an "egregious coxcomb" as they lead him into political debates (II. xliii), a ridiculous banquet modeled upon the ancients (II. xliv), and uproars with and against coquettes (II. lvi). Thus as the tour continues Peregrine's pride has attained such proportions that he does not recognize in himself the very "solemnity," "pride," "vanity," and "assurance" that he ridicules in Pallet and the doctor. In fact Peregrine's exceeds theirs. Such

events as the gleefully promoted, but woefully concluded duel (II. lxi-lxii) are staged by Peregrine seemingly for punishment and personal revenge as well as for amusement. With his ever increasing pride he begins to assume a role as dispenser of justice. The irony, of course, is that Peregrine's pride as it grows will direct him into political, social, and economic follies not unlike those of Pallet and the doctor. Thus Peregrine very coolly wishes them off and finds himself "dilated with the proud recollection of his own improvement" (II. lxvi. 269), unaware that he himself has become the proper object of disdainful amusement and ridicule.

Peregrine's entanglement with vanity and pride is further complicated and intensified during his adventures in Bath and London. His assumption of the role as dispenser of justice becomes more overt. He and Godfrey Gauntlet punish the gamblers (II. lxviii-lxix) and physicians (II. lxx) who openly bilk the people at Bath; he and Cadwallader scheme together to subject London to their ridicule (III. lxxxii-lxxxiv). While the objects of their punishments probably deserve what they get, Peregrine relishes his role as reformer and castigator in such strategies as the fortune teller disguise too much. Rather than correction, his goal is primarily self-amusement. It seems that Peregrine ignores apparent reminders of the proper source for judgment. Soon after the Bath adventures

his benefactor Commodore Trunnion becomes ill and dies (III. lxxiii); soon after the London castigations Peregrine learns that his aunt Mrs. Hatchway has died (IV. lxxxvi). Rather than opportunities for reflection and reformation, these deaths are only momentary respites for Peregrine's pride. After each brief return to the Garrison, Peregrine launches into more extravagant exhibitions of pride. With Commodore Trunnion's estate comes ostentation and affectation that culminate in the prideful attempt to assault Emilia. With the return to London after his aunt's funeral, Peregrine is "intoxicated with ideas of pride and ambition" and executes extravagant ventures in horse racing, gambling, economics, and politics. Each reflects misjudgment; Emilia totally rejects him; he loses a fortune; he is defrauded; he is forced to withdraw from the expensive election. Peregrine's pride results in total ruin. He is arrested for debt and imprisoned. Peregrine can no longer sustain the weight of the entanglements that his pride and vanity had created. From the heights of pride Peregrine plunges to the depths of despair as he becomes ill, neglects himself, is antisocial, and ultimately elicits charges that he is insane. Furthermore, by being diverted, distracted, and delayed, he nearly loses sight of the object of his quest -- Emilia.

One recognizes this amassing of apparently unconquerable adversity as the familiar testing pattern in

traditional romance plots. Peregrine must prove himself worthy of Emilia; the long episodic series of entanglements and complications is the test. Through the opposition of the families, the separation on the continent, the mistakes in English society, and his arrogance in prison, Peregrine is found wanting. But he is also educated as to the nature of his deficiencies and provided with the opportunity to take the test again.

Clearly Peregrine's resignation to his circumstances marks his turn from the vanity and pride inherent in his social, financial, and amatory affairs up to his arrest. His prideful penchant for disruption, ridicule, and ostentation begins to diminish. First he seeks detachment:

"In being detached from the world, I shall be delivered from folly and ingratitude, as well as exempted from an expense, which I should have found it very difficult, if not impracticable, to support; I shall have little or no temptation to misspend my time, and more undisturbed opportunity to earn my subsistence, and prosecute my revenge. After all, a jail is the best tub to which a cynic philosopher can retire."

(IV. xcvi. 160)

Then he turns to resignation:

Pickle, who now believed his glory was set for ever, received this intelligence [Crabtree's account of Peregrine's social reputation] with that disdain which enables a man to detach himself effectually from the world, and, with great tranquillity, gave the misanthrope an entertaining detail of what he had seen and heard since their last parting. While they amused themselves in this manner over a dish of coffee, they were joined by the parson, who congratulated our hero upon his bearing mischance with such philosophic quiet, . . . (IV. xcvi. 183)

Peregrine next decides to become more assimilated into his new society.

Being now regularly initiated in the mysteries of the Fleet, and reconciled in some measure to the customs of the place, he began to bear the edge of reflection without wincing; and thinking it would be highly imprudent in him to defer any longer the purposes by which only he could enjoy any ease and satisfaction in his confinement, he resolved to resume his task of translating, and every week compose an occasional paper, by way of revenge upon the minister, against whom he had denounced eternal war. With this view, he locked himself up in his chamber, and went to work with great eagerness and application; . . .
(IV. xlix. 257)

But the test is not so easily passed. Vestiges of Peregrine's pride remain. Detachment and resignation suggest some disdainful anti-social behavior; revenge as a primary motive survives. He is irritated by his misfortunes, repulses any tenders of friendship, and continues to seclude himself from all society (IV. c). The arrival of Godfrey and Emilia Gauntlet soon change this state of mind. His imagination turns to more agreeable ideas.

He amused his fancy with the prospect of being able to support her in a state of independence, by means of the slender annuity which it was in his power to purchase, together with the fruits of those endeavours which would profitably employ his vacant hours; and foresaw provision for his growing family in the friendship of the lieutenant, who had already constituted him his heir. He even parcelled out his hours among the necessary cares of the world, the pleasures of domestic bliss, and the enjoyments of a country life; and spent the night in ideal parties with his charming bride, sometimes walking by the sedgy bank of some transparent stream, sometimes pruning the luxuriant vine, and sometimes sitting in social converse with her in a shady grove of his own planting. (IV. ciii. 296)

The repudiation of despair is not only in his imagination. Peregrine signifies his rejection of it and of selfishness by refusing "to propose a scheme which might, in any shape, seem to interfere with the interest of Emilia, or subject himself to a repulse from that young lady, who had rejected his addresses in the zenith of his fortune" (IV. ciii. 296). Finally by rejecting any claims to ostentation, victory, or superiority that he so eagerly sought during his adventures throughout England and Europe, Peregrine begins to experience events which are ultimately to lead to the successful conclusion of his quest. Peregrine passes the test.

It is evident, however, that Peregrine does not pass the test entirely on his own merit. As in Roderick Random and the multitude of conventional romance plots before it, timely coincidences play a major role in the story's progress. The initial meeting of Emilia is characterized as a fortunate accident that saves Peregrine from vain pursuits (I. xvii. 143). The progress of the quest is repeatedly marked by fortunate and unfortunate accidents. Emilia's disdain resulting from Pipes' unknowing destruction of Peregrine's love letter (I. xix) is pacified through a chance meeting of the two lovers in a gallery (I. xxii). A fire at an inn provides just the right opportunity for Peregrine to demonstrate his merits, courage, and love for Emilia (I. xxvii. 231-233). After

the rescue Sophy observes that "now Mr. Pickle had an indisputable claim to her cousin's affection" (I. xxvii. 233).

Frequently chance protects Peregrine from himself. For example, his sexual advances on Amanda are frustrated again and again by coincidental occurrences (II. liii-lvi). Another instance is when our hero, having unsuccessfully attempted to rape the object of his affection, pursues her coach with turbulent passion, frenzied impatience, and determined resentment. Fortunately for any future hopes of retrieving Emilia's good graces, Peregrine has chased the wrong coach, and spends his unflattering emotions without great consequences.

As in any conventional romance plot, the turns of fortune can also create obstacles for the hero. For Peregrine, the misfortunes accumulate quickly. Almost as soon as Peregrine utters a decisive vow ("'. . . and before God! I am determined to endure every torment of disappointment and despair, rather than prostrate myself again to the cruelty of her unjustifiable pride."), he is inundated by a series of misfortunes which assure his ruin. He sustains crippling gambling losses; he falls prey to a mortgage venture and a security scheme; he suffers a financial and social embarrassment upon entering politics; he is arrested for attacking Sir Steady in print.

The vicissitudes of fortune can simplify as well as complicate. While Peregrine pines in jail over his

forlorn condition, Godfrey Gauntlet happens into town. While pursuing another goal, he learns of Peregrine's earlier benevolence and of his presence in Fleet prison. Godfrey rushes to Peregrine's aid. While the captain is melting the prisoner's tough exterior, another "unexpected smile of fortune" occurs. Peregrine receives a letter from Benjamin Chintz assuring the full payment of his debt. With this sudden shift in luck, Peregrine begins to be "reconciled to life" and "disposed for enjoying the comforts of society" (IV. ci. 286). The unexpected events continue until the final and total resolution of the plot is completed. Emilia arrives in town and reawakens Peregrine's tumults of love; the Gauntlets' rich uncle dies and removes any suspicion of mercenary design regarding Emilia's affection for Peregrine. Then Peregrine's father's death is reported. This will provide our hero with an ample fortune and estate as successor.

Thus, with a few convenient deaths and coincidental appearances of the right characters at the right times that correspond to Peregrine's movement from pride, Peregrine Pickle comes to the conventional conclusion of a romance plot. Peregrine is restored to his rightful inheritance and re-established in his appropriate station in life. He is treated with great respect and accepted by all of society. His nasty mother and brother Gam depart, almost totally excluded from any social or financial consideration.

His fair-weather friends suffer the disdain they exhibited when Peregrine was in need. All of Peregrine's domestic affairs are regulated; his debts are paid; he is married to Emilia; and they return to his estate celebrated by the public.

In terms of its plot, Smollett's second fictional work is hardly "so severely flawed as almost not to be a serious work of art."¹⁵ Nor is it an anomalous piece of prose fiction.¹⁶ When one recognizes the pervasiveness of its adherence to the many conventions of the traditional romance plot, Peregrine Pickle represents perhaps the most straightforward and extensive use of this hoary literary tradition in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Two years after the first publication of Peregrine Pickle, Smollett published the first of two works which have been most consistently connected with the romance tradition. Coming so soon after his most expansive use of romance plot and while he was in the midst of the Don Quixote translation, The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom offers another clear example of the traditional plot of romance. Even the most staunch advocates of the picaresque tradition in Smollett have problems describing the plot of Ferdinand Count Fathom in terms of the picaresque or satire. Giddings attributes the plot to the decline of Smollett's inventive powers: ". . . it seems as

if Smollett, realizing that he had worked out the vein of picaresque, was reaching out to find something new."¹⁷ Spector apologizes: ". . . Smollett, after all, was taking the picaresque in a new direction."¹⁸ Neither really maps out what or where this "new" direction led. Others evaluate the work in an entirely opposite light. Albrecht B. Strauss considers Ferdinand Count Fathom a "curious melange of incongruous fairy tale material and conventional Gothic claptrap."¹⁹ Although "Gothic claptrap" hardly had had an opportunity to become conventional in 1753, Strauss' view points to a more satisfactory conception of the plot by not insisting upon the "rise of realism" approach. In his essay "The Two Worlds of Ferdinand Count Fathom," T. O. Treadwell comes closest to an accurate evaluation of the plot when he describes it as an "attempt to combine within one book the didactic techniques of the novel of manners and the novel of nature."²⁰ As shorthand descriptions of Treadwell's two views of eighteenth-century fiction, the terms "novel of manners" and "novel of nature" are his less than convenient labels for the world of satire and the world of romance. However superficially, Treadwell at least suggests the tradition in which the plot should be considered.

Unlike the adventures of Roderick Random and Peregrine, the plot of Ferdinand Count Fathom includes two stories -- the career of Fathom and the account of Renaldo.

Not an uncommon narrative strategy in seventeenth-century and earlier romances, the dual plot presents a villain as well as a hero. In this instance, one sees how the villain and the hero confront similar opportunities and experiences, which reduce themselves to the love story, the entanglements, and the testing pattern of the conventional romance. As a "mirror of modern chivalry" (I. i. 6), Ferdinand perceives love as a strategy for seduction, exploitation, and theft. Using and abusing no fewer than eleven women, Ferdinand loves only himself. Although uninterested in (or unaffected by) the spirit of love, Ferdinand is extremely capable of using its devices. From the attempted seduction of his patron's daughter with obscene books and drugs (I. vi-viii) to the miscalculated Fleet marriage to Sarah Muddy (II. lv), the villain clearly demonstrates his familiarity with courtly love, a lover's quest, and the other accoutrements of love in the romance tradition. He uses them all as he abuses and ruins women of all ages and experiences. Assignations, spies, confidantes, love letters, and parental intervention are frequent devices exploited or used. For example, Ferdinand affects shyness and feigns love sickness with Count Melvil's daughter (I. vi. 38-40); he enslaves the affections of Teresa who is "smitten" and has "long sighed in secret" and who has "all the agitation of a despairing shepherdess." Wilhelmenia capitulates to the "fervour," "rhapsody," and "trans-

port" communicated by Ferdinand on his knees in the fashion of romance.

"Light of my eyes, and empress of my soul! behold me prostrate at your feet, waiting with the most pious resignation, for that sentence from your lips, on which my future happiness or misery must altogether depend. Not with more reverence does the unhappy bashaw kiss the sultan's letter that contains his doom, than I will submit to your fatal determination. Speak then, angelic sweetness! for never, ah! never will I rise from this suppliant posture, until I am encouraged to live and hope. No! if you refuse to smile upon my passion, here shall I breathe the last sighs of a despairing lover; here shall this faithful sword do the last office to its unfortunate master, and shed the blood of the truest heart that ever felt the cruel pangs of disappointed love." (I. xii. 79)

Fair Elenor is referred to as "his Amanda" and "beauteous Helen." Ferdinand marks her chastity for prey upon first meeting and employs the "engines" of a romance lover. A reflection on his abilities is Elenor's response to the artful language of his eyes, his expressions of love, his French love songs, his appearance as a rescuing hero, and his shows of compassion and benevolence.

. . . he gradually proceeded in sapping from one degree of intimacy to another, until all the bulwarks of her chastity were undermined, and she submitted to his desire; not with the reluctance of a vanquished people, but with all the transports of a joyful city, that opens its gates to receive a darling prince returned from conquest. (I. xxx. 246-247)

Ferdinand is a villain. However, in terms of a love story, it seems clear he is a villain in the plot and world of romance fiction.

Renaldo's love of and quest for Monimia is as affirmative as Ferdinand's pursuits are villainous. The story of Renaldo-Orlando and Monimia-Serafina is the epitome of the conventional romance. Renaldo resists a marriage designed by his family. Travelling incognito, he meets and succumbs to the "irresistible charms" of Monimia-Serafina who has been promised to someone else. Renaldo disguises himself as Orlando, an art instructor, gains entry into the household, and wins her heart. After saving Serafina from death by poison, he elopes with her and, together with her mother, travels to England. When the mother dies, Serafina assumes the name Monimia as an apparent orphan and the couple faces many difficulties trying to support themselves. After exhausting his finances to free Ferdinand from prison, Renaldo is separated by necessity from Monimia. While Renaldo seeks to restore his estate and fortune in Germany, Ferdinand creates a "maze of misery" by instigating a misunderstanding between Monimia and Renaldo, and by making attempts on her chastity. Monimia seemingly dies from consumption when weakened by the strain of Renaldo's absence.

Meanwhile, through disguises and a duel, Renaldo achieves his goals in Presberg. He also discovers Ferdinand's villainy. But it is apparently too late as Renaldo suffers a "labyrinth of distress" upon hearing of Monimia's demise. Dreams, anguish, and the desire for

vengeance lead Renaldo on a pilgrimage to his love's grave. Renaldo's lamentation at the grave reveals the impetus for their adventures:

"O sainted spirit! O unspotted shade of her whom I adored; of her whose memory I shall still revere with ever-bleeding sorrow and regret; of her whose image will be the last idea that forsakes this hapless bosom! now art thou conscious of my integrity and love; now dost thou behold the anguish that I feel. If the pure essence of thy nature will permit, wilt thou, ah! wilt thou indulge this wretched youth with some kind signal of thy notice, with some token of thy approbation? wilt thou assume a medium of embodied air, in semblance of that lovely form which now lies mouldering in this dreary tomb, and speak the words of peace to my distempered soul!" (II. lxii. 241)

Renaldo's experiences and emotions are those of a typical hero's in a romance plot.

True love provides the force which unites the incidents, unwinds the labyrinth, and closes the scene. Renaldo's love for Monimia contrasts sharply with Ferdinand's nefarious exploitation of love. It is also this true love that foreshadows Ferdinand's defeat, elicits forgiveness for Ferdinand, provides the occasion for Major Farrell's marriage to Renaldo's sister, clears Don Diego's conscience and brings him together with Madame Clement, and, in general, halts a "torrent of misfortunes." The marriage of Renaldo and Monimia is "the well-earned palm of virtue and of constancy, which had undergone the most severe refinement" (II. lxvi. 296).

Whether villain or hero, the characters' quests

are developed by means of the entanglements and complications expected in a romance plot. Driven by self-love and avarice, Ferdinand suffers as he moves through his tale of ostentation, cowardice, and dishonesty. He undergoes more and more the commonplace hardening in sin, as his pride and greed are less and less bridled. From stolen homework assignments to treacherous snares for seduction, from thefts to cowardice, the objectives of Ferdinand's villainy escalate at a rate paralleled by the growth of his pride. For example, at first Ferdinand concentrates primarily on the ready-and-willing (such as Teresa) for his seductive snares. However, as his story progresses, his interests shift to innocent, unwary prey (such as Monimia).

Ferdinand's difficulties and entanglements increase proportionately. They become more frequent, more hazardous, and more enduring. Stealing the homework is accompanied by only momentary anxiety; later the theft of Don Diego's jewels is followed by an arrest on the grave suspicion of being the Pretender. The attempt upon Count Melville's daughter ushers in an illness; the later incidents following his attempted ruin of Monimia are a series of catastrophes involving persecution by a clergyman, the ruin of his medical career, a chariot mishap, and a financially unsuccessful marriage. In fact, Ferdinand's overall story is a movement to legal prosecution, financial embarrassment, imprisonment, and the general ruin of aspiration and

reputation. Ferdinand's journey in the paths of life is restricted almost entirely to the "purlieus of treachery and fraud." The journey is a story which surveys the deplorable, yet poetically just, fate of one who fails the tests inherent in adversity, entanglements, and difficulties. Ferdinand is provided with opportunities equal to, if not surpassing, those of Renaldo. But on each occasion the opportunities are not sufficient to satisfy his greed and pride.

Contributing, of course, to Ferdinand's punishment and ruin are the vicissitudes of fortune. At first this mirror of modern chivalry enjoys the assistance of a lucky fate. There is the "providential incident" of Ferdinand's mother's aid to Count Melville which sets her son up for life (I. iii). Then, during his early dabbling in fraud, Ferdinand is repeatedly rescued from discovery. By accident the candle blows out just as his hiding place is to be revealed (I. xiii); later a fall by an armed searcher luckily prevents our villain from being shot (I. xiv); a chance meeting tips him to a vicious plot for revenge (I. xvii).

But fortune is not constant. As Ferdinand hardens in his criminal endeavors, he seems to receive less and less lucky assistance, less and less chance to reform his ways. While in the army, he does run into his old confederate Ratchcali and is helped in his desertion plans

by a coincidental desertion of a valet. But the aid to his cowardice and theft of the jewels soon turns out not to be as beneficial as first thought. He ends up with the enemy, robbed by Ratchcali, and subsequently a target for murder. Later on Ferdinand is in Bristol and "highly fortunate in his addresses" to the females. One who would have seemed both sexually and financially rewarding was Mrs. Trapwell. But she turns out to be "a female adventurer, whose allurements subject him to a new vicissitude of fortune" (I. xxxvi. 292). Ferdinand's new "vicissitude" includes arrest, indictment, a civil suit, financial ruin, public ridicule, and imprisonment.

The final major role of chance in Ferdinand's story follows his vicious but unsuccessful assault on Monimia. In almost rapid fire progression, Ferdinand is "descending Fortune's hill." One of his amatory conquests has an attack of conscience; her husband files suit. An important patient dies; other patients refuse to pay their bills. He has a disfiguring accident in his chariot. He enters into a catastrophically unsuccessful Fleet marriage. As the narrator notes, "all these mishaps, treading upon the heels of one another, had a very mortifying effect. . . ." (II. liv. 151). Ferdinand is again committed to jail. He is a ruined man.

Renaldo's difficulties are directly or indirectly tied to his worthy aspirations and his love for Monimia.

As suggested previously, they are the requisites of the romance love story: arranged marriage; cruel separation; undeserved disinheritance, exile, and poverty; jealousy and despair induced by a third party; a duel; the mistakenly reported death; and other calamities resulting from misunderstandings and misinformation. Ferdinand's "maze of misery" and Renaldo's "labyrinth of distress" are similar, however, in that the entanglements and complexities which shape each of their stories serve to measure or test their characters. The idea of a plot arranged as a testing pattern is suggested in the preface to Ferdinand Count Fathom.

Almost all the heroes of this kind, who have hitherto succeeded on the English stage, are characters of transcendent worth, conducted through the vicissitudes of fortune, to that goal of happiness, which ever ought to be the repose of extraordinary desert. -- Yet the same principle by which we rejoice at the renumeration of merit, will teach us to relish the disgrace and discomfiture of vice, which is always an example of extensive use and influence, because it leaves a deep impression of terror upon the minds of those who were not confirmed in the pursuit of morality and virtue, and, while the balance wavers, enables the right scale to preponderate. (I. Preface. 3)

Renaldo demonstrates himself to be worthy of the "repose of extraordinary desert." Impediments to his quest are not the result of a failure in his morality and virtue. On nearly every occasion the difficulty develops from a source wholly separate from Renaldo, such as a pre-arranged marriage, an unexpected death, or the insidious workings of another. The instance where Renaldo does

help to create his own problems is, in fact, a selfless act of charity. By extricating Ferdinand from prison, Renaldo exhausts his financial resources, makes it necessary to go to Germany and therefore leave Monimia, and allows the villain an opportunity to subvert Monimia. Whatever occasions the impediments, Renaldo responds in an exemplary manner. In fact, not only does he survive the vicissitudes of fortune, Renaldo demonstrates exceptional merit through each test. His response to Monimia's misguided disaffection reflects his characteristic generosity:

And though Monimia had forfeited all title to his regard, so ill could he bear the prospect of her distress, that he entrusted his dear companion with the half of what remained, to be expended for her use, fully resolving to screen her from the shocks and temptations of want, as the circumstances of his future fate would allow.

(II. xlvii. 86)

On at least two occasions Renaldo resists the temptation for overzealous revenge. Neither Trebasi's sneak attack nor Ferdinand's long history of treachery results in sustained rancor on Renaldo's part. Furthermore, the hero is always willing to take time from his own pressing business to assist others. While rushing on his pilgrimage to Monimia's grave, he not only stopped to rescue a stranger from five bandits, but also took the wounded to a physician and "assured him, that, as soon as he should have accomplished the melancholy progress of his voyage, he

would accompany Don Diego to Spain, and employ his whole interest and fortune in his service" (II. lxii. 234). Renaldo does not let himself even enjoy his victories. Immediately following the marriage to Monimia, Renaldo's "Quixotism awoke" with the problems of Valentine and Charlotte. Learning of the conflict between a cruel father's tyranny and a young suitor's poverty, Renaldo intercedes and makes "a tender of his good offices." The satisfaction of both parties again marks Renaldo's transcendent worth.

Still Renaldo's exemplary character and behavior are not equal to the romance plot's battery of involved complications, delaying entanglements, and challenging tests. Much of Renaldo's "maze of misery" is conventionally demolished by accident, coincidence, and chance. His imagination "warped and blinded by his misfortunes" (II. xlv), Renaldo falls easy victim to Ferdinand's carefully orchestrated fatal misunderstanding with Monimia. But the unexpected accommodation of Monimia by the humane Madam Clement saves the "divine" heroine (II. xlix). Later in Brussels Renaldo's despair almost entirely wrecks his reason "had not Providence interposed" (II. lvii. 178). Our hero has a fortunate rencontre with Major Farrell whom he knew in the army. Farrell provides invaluable assistance. When in Presberg, Count Trebasi's servants unluckily observe Renaldo's and Farrell's activities around the castle and Trebasi and his men attack them without warning. Again

fortune smiles: Trebasi's shot luckily only grazes Renaldo's left eyebrow and Farrell's horse falls into a hole just at the right time.

The pattern goes on and on. Disastrous "misfortunes" such as the wounding of Trebasi, the death of Monimia, a chariot accident, and a robbery pile up in a seemingly unending series. However, on nearly every occasion, the disasters turn out to be fortuitous events that eventually help Renaldo solve his maze of misery. For example, Trebasi's apparently fatal wound elicits a death-bed confession and restitution; Monimia's apparent death saves her from Ferdinand and for Renaldo; Renaldo's chariot accident leads to an introduction to Ratchcali who substantiates all the charges against Ferdinand; and the robbery introduces Renaldo to Don Diego who is another victim of Ferdinand and who turns out to be Monimia's father.

As a precise and compact rendition of the conventional romance plot, Ferdinand Count Fathom's resolution is swift and total. Renaldo's exemplary merits and fortune's convenient coincidences work well together to establish "utmost harmony and good humour." Renaldo reclaims his estate as Trebasi repents and makes restitution for his crimes. Renaldo's sister is freed from the convent and marries Major Farrell; his mother retires to a monastery to spend her life contemplating her husband's death. Monimia and Renaldo are reunited and married. Don Diego

is discovered to be Monimia's long-lost father, is pardoned by the Spanish king and converted to the Protestant faith, and is engaged to Madam Clement. And before they all retire to their reclaimed estates "as happy as good fortune could make them" (II. lxvii. 322), Ferdinand is discovered married and penitent. Renaldo recognizes Ferdinand's sincerity in seeking mercy, in acknowledging his atrocious crimes, in begging pardon, and in expressing his fervent wish for everyone's prosperity. At Renaldo's direction, Ferdinand is cured of his physical ailments and provided with a scheme for his future subsistence. Ferdinand Count Fathom ends with the villain "engrossed in atoning for his former crimes, by a sober and penitent life" (II. lxvii. 321) and the hero enjoying the "transporting view of blissful days" which is the "boon of virtue."

Despite a few somewhat strained efforts to highlight the "unnoticed levels of satire" and to indicate that Smollett is "still clearly working in the picaresque tradition,"²¹ The Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves has commanded the most critical attention as a romance of all Smollett's fiction. Although attributing it to a capitulation to the fashions in Gothicism and sentiment, Spector admits the presence of "straight materials of romance."²² But even in Smollett's "unreal narrative," Spector insists, he is as usual creating realism. Giddings asserts that Smollett has abandoned the picaresque.²³ Finding the satire to be

incidental rather than organic, he admits that "the romantic plot of the estrangement and reconciliation of Sir Launcelot and Aurelia forms the most important action of the book. . ." (Giddings, p. 138).

From the preliminary description of the hero,

He had taken off his helmet, and now displayed a very engaging countenance. His age did not seem to exceed thirty. He was tall, and seemingly robust; his face long and oval, his nose aquiline, his mouth furnished with a set of elegant teeth, white as the drifted snow, his complexion clear, and his aspect noble. His chestnut hair loosely flowed in short natural curls; and his grey eyes shone with such vivacity, as plainly showed that his reason was a little discomposed. Such an appearance prepossessed the greater part of the company in his favour. (p. 17)

to Launcelot's recitation of his aspirations,

"Yes, gentlemen, in that painful and thorny path of toil and danger I have begun my career, a candidate for honest fame; determined, as far as in me lies, to honour and assert the efforts of virtue; to combat vice in all her forms, redress injuries, chastise oppression, protect the helpless and forlorn, relieve the indigent, exert my best endeavours in the cause of innocence and beauty, and dedicate my talents, such as they are, to the service of my country."
(p. 18)

conventional romance plot elements are unmistakable; in fact, Sir Launcelot Greaves represents Smollett's most unmitigated implementation of romance plot traditions and conventions.

It is neither comic nor satiric in intent. Sir Launcelot himself emphatically denies that his story is a humorous romance or a well-timed satire or that he is a

modern Don Quixote (p. 18). The events surrounding Launcelot's adventures are not to be taken humorously. Launcelot is not mad; he sees things as they are, not as he perceives them to be. He sees inns as inns, not as castles. Aurelia is no Dulcinea whose beauties and virtues are only in the eyes of her knight. There are real threats to his love, to others, and to himself. Rather than windmills, goats, and wine skins, Launcelot must face rancorous rivals, corrupt officials, and cruel conspiracies. His quest is serious in its objective and its execution.

Smollett clearly shows the quest and its execution is not to be taken lightly. Little or no humor or satire surrounds the depiction of Launcelot and the events of his quest. The omniscient narrator as well as such "good" characters as Dolly, Mr. Clarke, and Dr. Kawdle is seriously concerned with and interested in Launcelot and his adventures. Depicted as straightforward and reliable characters, their direct and sincere attitude toward the main character contrasts strongly with the patronizing condescension shown Don Quixote. They attempt to help Launcelot fulfill his quest, not trick or persuade him to abandon a madman's dream. They relay messages, free him from imprisonment, give advice, and provide legal assistance.

In contrast to such sincere interest and assistance, one notes the attitudes of characters such as Ferret, Crowe, and Crabshaw. It is Ferret that accuses Launcelot

of being a modern Don Quixote; it is Crowe that is so extravagant in his desires to be a knight-errant; it is Crabshaw that insists on playing the role of Sancho Panza. Significantly it is these characters who bear the brunt of the book's satire and comedy. Those who attempt to mock Launcelot are the ones mocked. For example, Ferret's accusation is his response to a severe tongue lashing by Launcelot's squire. It is Crabshaw who suffers through the Rabelaisian humor of mixed-up assignments, disaster by enchantment, and bloody pummelling. As a novice, Crowe also experiences humorous adventures. He outfits himself from a tinker's inventory; he receives a drubbing from six horsemen; he rides around demanding homage for his sweetheart Bessalia Missen. Clearly Launcelot is the knight-errant who is serious in his image and who is treated seriously in this image by Smollett.

Aurelia Darnel is the soul of Launcelot's chivalry, quest, and love. The description of her is by now familiar:

" . . . she might be about seventeen, tall and fair, and so exquisitely shaped -- you may talk of your Venus de Medicis, your Dianas, your Nymphs, and Galateas; but if Praxiteles, and Roubilliac, and Wilton, were to lay their heads together, in order to make a complete pattern of beauty, they would hardly reach her model of perfection. -- As for complexion, poets will talk of blending the lily with the rose, and bring in a parcel of similes of cowslips, carnation, pinks, and daisies. -- . . . -- Miss Darnel is all amazing beauty, delicacy, and dignity! Then the softness and expression of her fine blue eyes; her pouting

lips of coral hue; her neck that rises like a tower of polished alabaster between two mounts of snow. . . . she not only resembles an angel in beauty, but a saint in goodness, and an hermit in humility' -- so void of all pride and affectation; so soft, and sweet, and affable, and humane! Lord! I could tell such instances of her charity!"
(pp. 42-43)

Miss Aurelia Darnel and Sir Launcelot Greaves are characteristically "formed by Nature for each other" (p. 42). Greaves' reasons for becoming a knight-errant are grounded in his desire to redress grievances originating with the mistreatment of Aurelia. As in Peregrine Pickle, the hero's love for the heroine is directly or indirectly connected with nearly every major narrative event. Greaves himself describes the primary force behind his adventures when he instructs Captain Crowe on knight-errantry:

" . . . no man had ever made such a profession of arms without first having placed his affection upon some beauteous object, for whose honour, and at whose command, he would cheerfully encounter the most dreadful perils."
(p. 99)

The "attainment to which the course of these adventures hath been invariably directed" is, of course, the happiness of an indissoluble union of Sir Launcelot Greaves and the enchanting Miss Darnel.

The entanglements of the love story are also familiar: the antagonism between the Darnels and the Greaves; a nasty uncle (Antony Darnel) who becomes the heroine's guardian and frustrates her affections for the hero; the use of spies to assist in the frustration; the spiriting

away of the heroine; the forging of a love letter to alienate the heroine's feelings for the hero; the plans for an arranged marriage between Sycamore and Aurelia by the uncle; the separation of the lovers because Launcelot must flee to avoid prosecution for wounding the uncle in a duel; these along with kidnappings, illegal imprisonment, mistaken identities, and a lover's despair, are the events Launcelot Greaves shares with the conventional romance.

Launcelot is also subject to delaying and diverting entanglements seemingly unrelated to his quest for Aurelia, but essential to his knight-errantry. On the road, Launcelot and his squire experience unannounced storms and attacks (Chapters v and viii); they involve themselves in political debates (Chapters iii and iv) and acts of benevolence (Chapters iv, v, and xxi); they prevent a robbery (Chapter viii) and reform institutions (Chapters xi and xii). Sir Launcelot carries out in practice what he in theory had advised as the behavior of a knight-errant:

" . . . the paths of errantry, . . . , I assure you, are thorny and troublesome. Nevertheless, as your purpose is to exercise your humanity and benevolence, so your ambition is commendable. But towards the practice of chivalry, there is something more required than the virtues of courage and generosity. A knight-errant ought to understand the sciences, to be master of ethics or morality, to be well versed in theology, a complete casuist, and minutely acquainted with the laws of his country. He should not only be patient of cold, hunger, and fatigue, righteous, just, and valiant, but also chaste, religious, temperate, polite, and conversable; and have all his passions under the rein, except love, whose empire he should submissively acknowledge." (p. 99)

But knight-errantry is not an instantaneous accomplishment. Just as he advises Crabshaw "to weigh all the circumstances, and deliberate calmly and leisurely, before he actually engaged in such boisterous profession" (p. 101), Launcelot must examine his own resolution and experience the tests of his spiritual as well as physical capacities. Launcelot's greatest struggle results from a deficiency of patience and faith. When confronted with adversity, he tends to become "a little disordered in his brain," to experience "ferment in the economy of his mind," and to give "a loose to the most tender emotions of his heart." For example, when Aurelia is spirited away by her uncle, Launcelot succumbs to wild grief and impetuous passion. He refuses food, neglects his appearance, and becomes uncharacteristically peevish (p. 55). When the Squire Sycamore-Aurelia Darnel match is announced, he exhibits similar disorders (p. 59). Nor is impatience and rash behavior restricted to a lover's emotions. When preaching the doctrine of moderation at a political rally, he attacks impetuously a disrespectful audience (p. 125). Later, Mr. Clarke must entreat Launcelot to have a little patience -- the hero is about to smash an oaken bench in a rage over being unjustly imprisoned (p. 138).

With each impatient or rash act (and its consequences), the hero learns the folly of his disordered behavior. Launcelot's behavior improves, however. In contrast to

his earlier disorders and the subsequent doubts, jealousies, resentments, and other infinite disquiets of love, Launcelot learns to bridle his impatience, to reflect before acting, and to have faith in Aurelia and Providence. It is a slow process. Divorcing himself from all hope, Launcelot allows a letter apparently from Aurelia to unsettle his understanding without harboring any doubt of the letter's being genuine. He throws himself into a "transport of despair, mingled with resentment." Launcelot accepts the dismissal without thinking and rushes off, "determined to proceed in the career of adventure, and endeavour to forget the unkindness of his mistress amidst the avocations of knight-errantry" (p. 184). Fortunately this resolution focuses on returning Miss Meadows' lost pocketbook. A few chapters later, Launcelot seems to learn his lesson. When he catches up with Miss Meadows and discovers that she is really Aurelia, Launcelot promises he will leave his resentment toward her "perfidious and cruel guardian" to the dispensations of Providence and will "enjoy the transition from madness to deliberation, from despair to felicity" (p. 203). His determination is short-lived, however, for a traveler's cries for help plunge Launcelot into immediate, unthinking action.

The supposition of such distress operated like gunpowder on the disposition of our adventurer, who, without considering the situation of Aurelia, and indeed without seeing, or being capable to think on her or any other subject for

the time being, ran directly to the stable, and, mounting the first horse which he found saddled, issued out in the twilight, having no other weapon but his sword. (p. 204)

Launcelot's rash action leaves Aurelia unguarded among strangers and she is gone when he returns. His "thousand fears and perplexities, arising from the reflection of having left the jewel of his heart with such precipitation" are too late (p. 209). Aurelia has been kidnapped and Launcelot's quest must start all over again.

As such experiences accumulate, Launcelot does learn to bridle his impatience, to conceal his emotional disorderliness, and to pause for reflection before acting. For example, when he learns from Dorothy Cowslip where Aurelia has been taken, the more rational hero decides to "proceed leisurely to London, and, instead of taking any rash step which might induce Anthony Darnel to remove his niece from that city, remain in seeming quiet until she should be settled and her guardian returned to the country" (p. 213). Launcelot again exhibits the same cautious attitude upon entering London, an attitude at once far more useful and more socially integrated than his previous headlong errantry:

As the torrent of his despair had disordered the current of his sober reflection, so now, as that despair subsided, his thoughts began to flow deliberately in their ancient channel. All day long he regaled his imagination with plans of connubial happiness, formed on the possession of the incomparable Aurelia; determined to wait with patience, until the law should supercede the authority of her guardian,

rather than adopt any violent expedient which
might hazard the interest of his passion.

(p. 221)

This way of thinking and behaving becomes typical. When challenged to a duel by Squire Sycamore, Launcelot declines and suggests they talk their differences over. Later, when captured and imprisoned in the asylum, Launcelot at first acquiesces to the agitation of his soul and the transports of his mind upon hearing Aurelia's voice. Then he calms himself and makes the plans which are to lead to freedom for them both. By concealing and then overcoming his impetuosity, Launcelot is able to vindicate the liberty, confirm the safety, and secure the heart of charming Aurelia. Significantly his revenge is described as "leisure to unravel the conspiracy" and as practicing "a much more easy, certain, and effectual method." This method includes the slow but societal supporting devices of lawsuits and writs. Launcelot Greaves conquers himself as well as his enemies to complete his quest for Aurelia. Thus, as Crowe is assured early in Sir Launcelot Greaves, the paths of knight-errantry certainly turn out to be full of "toil and danger" and are "thorny and troublesome."

As romance hero and knight-errant, Launcelot expects the "protection of Heaven" (p. 173) in his troubles. While exhorting Captain Crowe on the nature of knight-errantry, Launcelot explains that Heaven is the primary source for a knight's prowess and glory. Later, during

an audience with Aurelia, our hero comforts his distraught love:

"Heaven, careful of your safety, and in compassion to my sufferings, hath guided me hither, in this mysterious manner, that I might defend you from violence, and enjoy this transition from madness to deliberation, from despair to felicity."
(p. 203)

In theory and in practice, Launcelot feels assured that he will have help through his toils and troubles.

He does. The usual turns of fortune, accidents, and coincidences help to create Launcelot's problems and to solve them. Squire Darnel chances to die and the quarrel between the Darnel and Greaves families intensifies; Mrs. Darnel dies and Launcelot loses his only advocate in the Darnel household. The turns of fortune are also happy ones. When a braying jackass startles a carriage team and sends the passengers hurtling toward certain death, Greaves "chanced to be a-horseback on the other side of an enclosure, when he heard their shrieks" (pp. 44-45). Launcelot stops the carriage and gains the unmeasurable gratitude and affection of both Aurelia and her mother.

Chance serves as a catalyst to move the plot along. It, for example, has Aurelia and Launcelot run into each other as the story progresses. Each chance meeting seems to stimulate Launcelot's enthusiasm for his quest and spurs him to action. A specific instance occurs when Mr. Fillet, "chancing to pass, and seeing a crowd about

the door" (p. 153), secures Launcelot from the petulance of Justice Gobble and a sure prison term. The auspicious arrival of a postillion with a "seasonable billet" from Dorothy Cowslip prevents Launcelot from charging off on a frenzied and unproductive chase (pp. 212-213).

Coincidence also plays an important part in the progress of Launcelot's quest. Miss Meadows' turning out to be Aurelia Darnel is a prime example. This is especially fortunate since Launcelot had delayed his search for Aurelia in order to pursue Miss Meadows to return her lost pocketbook. Another major coincidence occurs when our hero is captured and imprisoned in a madhouse. While contemplating his circumstances, he hears a strain of vocal music from the next room. The source is none other than the object of his entire quest -- his adored Aurelia.

Finally, as has been traditional with romance plots for centuries, Sir Launcelot Greaves concludes in a rush and with a happy ending. With all the help that fortune, chance, and coincidence can muster, Sir Launcelot Greaves executes the lovers' escape from the madhouse, unravels the conspiracy, and restores family harmony. With Aurelia's uncle's death from a severe stroke, all impediments are removed from their "Heaven-directed union." The knight and his endearing consort are not the only ones to enjoy the rewards of virtue. Dolly, with appropriate tokens of a ring and letter, turns out to be a Greaves. She receives

a generous settlement and marries Mr. Clarke. The good Captain Crowe, through new found evidence, is restored to his rightful inheritance and marries Mrs. Oakley. Whereas virtue is rewarded, vice is punished. Anthony Darnel's death is termed "a just judgment of God upon him for his cruelty" (p. 329). Mr. Shackle, the owner of the madhouse, is indicted for kidnapping, tried, convicted, and punished by a large fine and time in the pillory. Rival Mr. Sycamore is revealed as the executor of Dawdle's scheme to imprison Launcelot. Both flee to the continent, but are unable to escape the revenge of the law.

To seek the conventional romance plot in The Expedition of Humphry Clinker, one would have to focus on the correspondence by and about Lydia Melford, which, admittedly is only a sub-plot in this story. Lydia possesses the romance heroine's requisites. She is an orphan; she admits the "want of prudence and experience"; she is devoted to duty, innocence, and honor. Even gruff Matthew Bramble describes her in terms roughly approximating a romance heroine:

She is a poor good-natured simpleton, as soft as butter, and as easily melted -- not that she's a fool -- the girl's parts are not despicable, and her education has not been neglected; that is to say, she can write and spell, and speak French, and play upon the harpsichord; then she dances finely, and has a good figure, and is very well inclined; but she's deficient in spirit, and so susceptible -- and so tender forsooth! -- truly, she has got a languishing eye, and reads romances. (I. 15)

Most important, Lydia is in love. The love between the seemingly low "Wilson" and divine Lydia is in the best spirit of the romance tradition. In his March 31 letter to Lydia, "Wilson" writes:

Miss Willis has pronounced my doom -- you are going away, dear Miss Melford -- you are going to be removed I know not whither! what shall I do? which way shall I turn for consolation? I know not what I say -- all night long have I been tossed in a sea of doubts and fears, uncertainty and distraction, without being able to connect my thoughts, much less to form any consistent plan of conduct -- Good God! I never heard your name mentioned without emotion! the most distant prospect of being admitted to your company filled my whole soul with a kind of pleasing alarm! as the time approached my heart beat with redoubled force, and every nerve thrilled with a transport of expectation; . . . my breast was filled with such tumults of delight as wholly deprived me of the power of utterance, and wrapt me in a delirium of joy! (I. 20-21)

It is this love of extreme transport, tenderness, and passion that sustains both Lydia and "Wilson" through all the complications, entanglements, and conflicts common to the romance lovers' quest.

Lydia herself describes her adventures as a "burden of affliction." Nearly every letter by or about Lydia narrates events customarily associated with the testing pattern of romance. First, there is the family's antagonism to her affections for her "theatrical hero." Brother Jerry Melford adamantly opposes any form of correspondence between them, and Matt Bramble tacitly supports his nephew's efforts. Jerry's efforts are conventional; he intercepts

the lovers' secret correspondence; he bribes a maid for information concerning the lovers' plots; he forces a duel in the name of his family's honor; he spies on his sister's every move and emotion.

Thus, by necessity, "Wilson" and Lydia resort to confidantes, secret correspondence carried by third parties, the exchange of tokens (such as a picture), and disguises. "Wilson," for example, startles Lydia while disguised as a Jewish pedlar. Lydia is surprised by the unexpected appearances and disappearances of her separated lover and she swoons as is customary upon each occasion. She is torn between the apparently irreconcilable conflict of the demands of duty and the disposition of her heart.

The events surrounding the suit of Mr. Barton represent a second test for Lydia. Mr. Barton seeks Lydia's hand and heart in matrimony. He presents a challenge (however weak and unknowing) to "Wilson's" place in her heart. He is not the only aspect of this test. She must resist not only the enticements of Barton but also those of London, Jerry, and Lady Griskin. Lydia's meeting with Mr. Barton occurs almost simultaneously with her introduction to the "incredible," "magnificent," "charming" London. She wishes that her "weak head may not grow giddy in the midst of all this gallantry and dissipation" (I. 143). Barton's attractiveness is directly linked with London's. Jerry finds Barton "a busy, talkative politician,

a petit-maitre in his dress, and a ceremonious courtier in his manners" and has no objection to Barton's pursuit of Lydia. In light of her affection for her brother and his opposition to "Wilson," Lydia surely finds Jerry's tacit support for Barton persuasive. Lady Griskin is more vigorous in her advocacy of the "ample fortune, the great connexions, and the unblemished character of Mr. Barton" (I. 203). Coupled with her earlier good will and kind invitations, Lady Griskin's commanding advice seems difficult to ignore. Clearly Lydia is under a great deal of pressure from her family and society.

Besides Barton's suit and the solicitations on his behalf, Lydia also faces the danger of exposure. Lady Griskin tells her that a girl of her age could not possibly resist so many considerations, if her heart were not pre-engaged. Lydia is afraid to reveal the emotions of her heart. Such a revelation would subject her to further harassment over "Wilson" and to an intensification of the seige on Barton's behalf.

Then there are the trials and tribulations arising from the extended separation. Lydia suffers from love sickness and then from despair. She has "a dangerous fit of illness" following the initial separation from "Wilson." But, as the expedition ambles on its way, Lydia begins to suffer with doubts and despair. On May 6 in Bath, she writes: "I am vexed that neither you nor I have

received any further information of a certain person; sure it can't be wilful neglect! O my dear Willis! I begin to be visited by strange fancies, and to have some melancholy doubts, which, however, it would be ungenerous to harbour without further inquiry" (I. 86-87). By September 7 Lydia compares herself to a poor prisoner longing for deliverance. She wishes to "disburden" the cares inherent in the "pulls of discretion" and the "frosts of neglect." Even Jerry's censures of "Wilson" make a deep impression upon her mind -- Lydia's anxiety results in illness and an involuntary conjecture that perhaps "Wilson's" professions and honor are false. On October 4 Lydia has seen "Wilson" ride past the inn window. Her letter to Miss Willis is fraught with disquiet, despair, and anxiety. The unexpected apparition of her absent lover elicits suspense, suspicion, and anxiety: first, she doubts whether she really saw him; next, she wonders about the meaning of "Wilson's" coming hither; then, she finds it difficult to accept the idea that he was seeking her. After momentarily expressing a wish for death, the heroine closes as "the dejected and forlorn Lydia Melford."

Lydia's perception of the world around her is seemingly altered, a further mark of the conventional testing of a heroine through experiences of trials and separation. Early in the expedition, Lydia's description of Bath contrasts sharply with Matt Bramble's opinion that the city

"is become the very centre of racket and dissipation."

Lydia writes:

"Bath is to me a new world. All is gaiety, good humour, and diversion. The eye is continually entertained with the splendour of dress and equipage, and the ear with the sound of coaches, chaises, chairs, and other carriages. The merry bells ring round, from morn till night. . . . He [the master of ceremonies] did us the favour to dine with us, by my uncle's invitation; and the next day squired my aunt and me to every part of Bath, which to be sure is an earthly paradise."
(I. 57)

Lydia's perceptions apparently change. After seeing "Wilson" ride by without stopping to inquire, Lydia exhibits a modified vision of man:

Unexperienced as I am in the commerce of life, I have seen enough to give me a disgust to the generality of those who carry it on; there is such malice, treachery, and dissimulation, even among professed friends and intimate companions, as cannot fail to strike a virtuous mind with horror; and when vice quits the stage for a moment, her place is immediately occupied by folly, which is often too serious to excite anything but compassion. (II. 200)

At this stage in Lydia's trials, one strongly suspects that Bath would no longer seem to be an earthly paradise. Lydia clearly is in the midst of the romance testing pattern.

Lydia's progress through her trials and tribulations is, as expected in the romance plot, expedited by fortuitous events and chance happenings. Jerry Melford reports: "It was by the greatest accident I intercepted one of his ["Wilson's"] letters" (I. 9-10). It is this accident which initiates the opposition to Lydia's lover and the

subsequent distress to the heroine. Two weeks later at Hot Well, the solution to the lovers' problems is prevented by a chance occurrence. Jerry happens to see Winifred Jenkins' rendezvous with "Wilson." In her confusion, Lydia's confidante forgets the pertinent information -- namely "Wilson's" identity as a gentleman.

Not all chance occurrences thwart Lydia and "Wilson" and contribute to their trials. For example, Lydia is able to escape unscathed from the potentially dangerous consequences of Mr. Barton's suit because Tabitha Bramble mistakes Barton's intentions. Because of the confusion arising from this fortuitous misunderstanding, Lydia does not have to reveal her love for "Wilson" and therefore subject herself to further familial wrath. Then there are the chance meetings with "Wilson" or a Wilson look-alike during the expedition. For instance, in the depths of fatigue ("I am heartily tired of this itinerant way of life. I am quite dizzy with a perpetual succession of objects!"), Lydia is driven to distraction by "Wilson's" unexpected ride past the inn. This chance event does not only rekindle Lydia's passion; it also introduces, through the mistaken challenge by Jerry, the real Wilson who is to come in handy later.

The most significant of the fortuitous events is, of course, the flash flood at the river crossing which overturns and damages the carriage. Besides eliciting an

unanimous expression of affection for Matt Bramble which indicates the unity of the group, this accident requires the expedition to linger while the carriage is repaired. During this respite, chance event upon chance event results in uncovering that Matt Bramble is Matthew Lloyd of Glamorgan; that their host is Matt's dear friend Charles Dennison; that Humphry Clinker is Matt's son; that the real Mr. Wilson is Dennison's talented friend; and that "Wilson" is George Dennison's son and therefore worthy to marry Lydia. The initial accident also occasions the wedding of Humphry and Winifred; the marriage of Lishmahago and Tabitha; the economic solution to Baynard's problems; and a "considerable stock of health" for Matt Bramble.

Thus, again, one sees the quick and total resolution common to romance plot. Through a fortuitous accident, recognition and discovery remove all impediments to love, marriage, and health. Families are reunited; lovers are joined; order comes as all misunderstandings, anxieties, and conflicts are solved. Nevertheless, the stories of Humphry and Matthew are not the same as Lydia's, insofar as they do not reflect the same straightforward use of romance plot conventions. Although both characters enjoy the felicities of resolution, an examination of their respective adventures strongly indicates that the conventional romance plot is insufficient to explain the events of Smollett's last work.

Humphry Clinker the foundling enters Humphry Clinker only on the fifty-second day of the expedition and only by accident. John Thomas the footman is dismissed following the overturning of the coach and his indiscrete assaults on Tabitha and her dog. As his replacement, Humphry immediately exhibits tell-tale attributes of the familiar romance hero. He has "a skin as fair as alabaster" which, as Sheridan Baker correctly notes, is the unmistakable mark of nobility.²⁴ His first name is highly chivalric as are his addresses to Matt ("your noble honour") and Tabitha ("your worthy ladyship"). His compliments and promised devotions to Tabitha are conventional in content and diction: "'Do pray, good sweet, beautiful lady, take compassion on a poor sinner. God bless your noble countenance; I am sure you are too handsome and generous to bear malice. I will serve you on my bended knees, by night and day, by land and by water; and all for the love and pleasure of serving such an excellent lady" (I. 127).

But this chivalric promise contradicts Humphry's behavior and station. He is a "shabby country fellow," not a romance hero:

"He seemed to be about twenty years of age, of a middling size, with bandy legs, stooping shoulders, high forehead, sandy locks, pinkish eyes, flat nose, and long chin; but his complexion was of a sickly yellow. His looks denoted famine; and the rags that he wore could hardly conceal what decency requires to be covered."

(I. 122)

His devotions are an application for a servant's position. Rather than a chivalric knight kneeling before his lady, Humphry is begging for a job he cannot handle. Humphry is a "clinker" who drops custard on people, steps on dogs, and breaks dishes.

Nevertheless, the adventures associated with Humphry seem at first glance appropriate for a romance hero. Humphry's entrance occasions the epithet of "forlorn damsel" for Win Jenkins, and a central focus to this plot is their courtship. Humphry repeatedly defends or comes to the rescue of the expedition and Winifred. He saves her from a fine gentleman with a "cloven fute"; he pursues robbers declaring "he would stand by him [Matt] to the last drop of his blood" (I. 239); he saves Matt from drowning; and he rescues Winifred and the others from a fire. Jerry describes the results of the last rescue: "none of Mrs. Winifred's beauties could possibly escape the view of the fortunate Clinker, whose heart was not able to withstand the united force of so many charms; at least, I am much mistaken if he has not been her humble slave from that moment" (I. 262-267). Humphry also has the customary "trials and tribulations" (II. 63) of the hero of romance. He is imprisoned unjustly, must choose between his master and his preaching; and he has a rival for Winifred's love. Winifred describes his troubles: "His virtue is like pourgould, seven times tried in the fire" (I. 235) and as

"trials and tribulation" (II. 63). Finally, Humphry even enjoys the assistance and chance accidents such as Martin's timely arrival during a robbery and the lucky arrest of his accuser which subsequently leads to his release from prison.

The problem is that all these commonplace events of romance are severely qualified by Humphry's status and behavior. There is a heroic rescue, the elevated diction of romance, and the conventions of courtly love, but Winifred is a servant girl and her beauties are those blushing cheeks seen only when the heroine is backing down a ladder. There is a rival for love, but the situation is labeled a "domestic occurrence" and Humphry responds to Dutton's challenge thus:

"He has challenged me to fight him at sword's point," said he, "but I might as well challenge him to make a horseshoe or a plough iron, for I know no more of the one than he does of the other. Besides, it does not become servants to use those weapons, or to claim the privilege of gentlemen to kill one another, when they fall out. . . ." (II. 48)

He then provokes the first blow (to avoid prosecution), uses the cudgel, and administers Dutton a good drubbing. He may have noble skin, but his approach to affairs is certainly lower class. In short, Humphry's heroism and loyalty (two knightly qualities to be sure) are thwarted by his clumsiness and foolishness, his lack of "grace" in spite of his "Methodism." Humphry "rescues" Matt in the ocean, but Matt is in no danger of drowning; the

episode is typical of Humphry's relationship to the tradition of romance.

With these qualifications in mind it still is apparent, I believe, that Smollett does not intend in Humphry Clinker solely to ridicule or burlesque the conventional romance, as Sheridan Baker suggests.²⁵ As Smollett's work draws to its close, the conventional resolution involving nearly all the characters is essentially traditional and straightforward --and quite satisfying for being so. Significantly it is Humphry who occasions and expedites the happy ending. He saves Matt Bramble from really drowning during the "cursed accident" of a coach in a rain-swollen river. Like a romance hero he is amply rewarded for his heroism with the gratitude and purse of Matt. Then the recognition of Matt Bramble as Matthew Lloyd of Glamorgan sends Humphry into transports of joy and then of reverent humility. He bears the cornelian seal and other tokens which establish him as Matt's son. This discovery of parentage is handled seriously and has an important effect on Matt as well as Humphry. The discovery of Matt's "natural" son occasions the man who affected misanthropy, who feared nothing so much as dishonor, and who fired at the least hint of ill-breeding to acknowledge his son and to apologize quietly and publicly: "'I am really shocked at the consequence of my own folly. . . . You see, gentlemen, how the sins of my youth rise up in judgment against me'"

(II. 216). Humphry also shares in the happy resolution by marrying Winifred and becoming a part of the new order in Brambleton Hall society. Humphry is the foundling discovered, the outsider included, the lover united, and the hero rewarded. Despite all of the earlier undercutting, the title character finishes with the flourish of a full fledged romance hero in a conventional romance plot.

While Humphry's story incorporates a variety of heterogeneous materials and attitudes such as comic action,²⁶ the grotesque,²⁷ and satire,²⁸ the basic plot remains the "missing-father-found, estranged-lovers-united, paternal-estate-reclaimed, reward-for-everybody-ending."²⁹ There is much that is different between Lydia-Wilson and Humphry-Winifred, but at the end of Humphry Clinker the differences are far less important than the similarities -- and the similarities establish both couples as the hero and heroine of the world of romance.

Matthew Bramble's and Jerry Melford's letters are even further removed from the conventions of romance plot. Neither character really has a story. Matthew is the leader of the expedition, but is generally restricted to a passive role. His quest is for health rather than romantic love; his adventures consist largely of infrequent accidents, and chance meetings with diverse personalities and old friends. The closest thing to a testing pattern are the trials of his patience by Tabitha, Humphry, and others

on the road, but this can hardly be considered in the romance tradition. Jerry is also more of a narrator and observer than a participant. Like his uncle, he observes, records, and comments on everything from society's politics, architecture, and economics to individuals' history, values, and personalities. Not in love or on any particular quest, Jerry's closest brush with conventional romance plotting is to represent the family's opposition to Lydia's affair with "Wilson." He is also "looking" at a fair young thing at the end of the work.

Whether their vision is termed benevolent misanthropy,³⁰ the comic grotesque,³¹ or traditional satire,³² the focus through Matthew Bramble and Jerry Melford is more on unstructured experience and the exploration of human nature than on traditional romance plot conventions. They comment on more than participate in the love stories, quests, and adventures of those such as Lydia and Humphry. Matthew's letters especially emphasize the presentation, development, and explication of his own individual character as it responds to the journey. Matthew grows in the course of the writing of his letters. Unlike Lydia who fits into a pre-existing conception of a romance heroine, her uncle seems more independently conceived and executed. States of mind, emotions, and feelings rival the recitation of events for dominance in the letters of Matthew and Jerry. Of all those writing letters in Humphry Clinker, they least of all are

tied to or interested in the conventions of a traditional romance plot.

Significantly, the heart of Smollett's last major fictional work is presented through the letters of Matthew and Jerry. Of the eighty-three letters written by participating characters, Lydia writes only eleven, Winifred ten, Tabitha five, and "Wilson" one. The rest are left to Matt and Jerry, and their share of the narrative becomes increasingly larger as it progresses. Paradoxically the uncle and his nephew must serve as the main vehicles for narrating the stories characterized as romance plots. Because this is so, the reader seeking only to follow the romance stories of Lydia and Humphry must read through an enormous amount of material unrelated to them. Quite clearly, this unrelated material, as well as the comic tone that Matt and Jerry take toward Lydia and Humphry, suggest the relative importance of both in Smollett's last fiction. Smollett in Humphry Clinker seems to have introduced or emphasized a shift in his literary focus perhaps in response to the changing taste of his audience or to his own intellectual development. Although there is little doubt concerning the continued presence of romance, the central interest in Humphry Clinker is Matthew Bramble and Jerry Melford, and their fidelity to life in terms of unstructured experience, their empirical exploration of human nature, and their presentation of individual character

development in terms of personality. The traits strongly suggest an increasing interest by Smollett in the fictive values of "life" and the novel. Smollett had finally introduced into his fiction a strong rival to the pattern of conventional romance plotting in eighteenth-century fiction.

II. SMOLLETT'S ORDER IN VARIETY

The most common accusation made against the fiction of Tobias Smollett is that it lacks co-ordinating design, a sense of form, and artistic unity. Modern critics, for example, have argued that Roderick Random exhibits disunity and formlessness;³³ a total absence of continuity, arrangement, and consistency;³⁴ and an inadequate grasp of form.³⁵ Peregrine Pickle is seen as a medley of unconnected adventures,³⁶ an anomalous and digressive piece of prose fiction,³⁷ and an unsuccessful struggle to achieve artistic unity.³⁸ Ferdinand Count Fathom represents an artistic farrago,³⁹ a failure to compose a unified picaresque novel,⁴⁰ and a mass of parts which do not fit into some large plan.⁴¹ Although somewhat loose⁴² and indiscriminate,⁴³ The Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves is considered to have a more closely knit structure.⁴⁴ Smollett's last work, Humphry Clinker, is economical rather than unified⁴⁵ and is saved from diffusiveness and incoherence only by a slender narrative thread.⁴⁶

Smollett's fiction obviously does not demonstrate a modern conception of novelistic structure. It does not exhibit strict causal continuity. It does not present cohesive and straightforward development within restricted and particular loci of time and place. Its conventions and conceptions of structure are not entirely appropriate for the pursuit of verisimilitude and an individual ordering of experience. It appears more polymorphic than unified. It is clear why "no co-ordinating design can be discerned" in Smollett's works when they are approached and appraised as novels.

Perhaps a more appropriate approach would illuminate the "formlessness" and "disunity" seemingly evident in Smollett's fiction. A novelistic conception of structure precludes medleys of seemingly unconnected adventures, artistic farragos, and rambling digressions. The romance structure does not. From Roderick Random to Humphry Clinker, there is considerable evidence to suggest that the romance structure of Order in Variety is an informing principle. In varying degrees each work contains the interpolations, the digressions, and the conscious attention to authorial design characteristic of romance structure and its awareness of "Creation's ample range."

As an outward manifestation of romance's Order in Variety, Smollett's fiction endorses the idea inherent to the conventions that each work is more of a designed arti-

fact imitative of an idealized ordered universe than an imitation of life designed to fool the reader with its verisimilitude. Each digression, each interpolation, and each exhibition of authorial design underscores Smollett's desire to demonstrate the author's infinite capacity (like God's) to select and shape the matter of his work and to show how varied and diverse a designed artifact (like Creation's ample range) can be.

As indicated in Chapter Two, digression in the traditional romance is a structural convention inserted for the purposes of elaboration and embellishment. It is usually nonfictional material which exceeds by volume and frequency any normal conception of necessary exposition. Smollett's use of the digression is consistent with the romance tradition. Each of his works contains a significant quantity of these encyclopedic additions as Smollett uses all the traditional forms of digressions available to him. Smollett clearly is willing to break into any one of his stories to follow his "artistic" bent. By doing so he emphasizes that the principle at work is to concentrate on the author's capacity to shape his work and not on the organic unity of the work itself.

Among the numerous and extensive digressions in Roderick Random, one might consider chapter forty-five. Roderick has just experienced a "sudden transition of fate" with his rescue from the French army by Strap and

his decision to be a fortune hunter. However, with Roderick's arrival in London, Smollett breaks into the hero's movement to a new career with a chapter which is almost entirely digressive. While the thousand ridiculous coquetries and the absurd conduct at the play may reveal Roderick's misplaced pride and socially unacceptable behavior, the interlude with the dancer, the fiddler, the Roman Catholic priest, and a retired general is quite detached from the main plot. As customers at a coffeehouse they debate public affairs focusing on the French-English rivalry. They expound on the Spanish succession, the "Pragmatic Sanction," and the battle of Dettingen. Smollett has Roderick slip into the background as an observer recording a series of meaningless arguments by characters irrelevant to Roderick's quest. While the modern reader may be impatient to learn how Roderick's ventures in fortune hunting turn out, Smollett is perfectly content to spin out an elaborate commentary which an eighteenth-century reader may find more artistically clever and entertaining than informative. Roderick labels them "such idle disputes." The digressiveness in chapter forty-five does not end when dinner concludes. After a dispute over the definition of *épaulement* (which disturbs the general and disbands the dinner party), Roderick adjourns with a fashionable doctor who provides a detailed description of the disputants and a ceremonious discourse on drinking. Again, as the

doctor launches into a series of character assassinations, a definition of verbs, and an examination of classical etymologies, Smollett's comic and satiric bent are evident. To be sure, it seems no accident that Roderick corrects the doctor with a series of quotations from Horace, Homer, and Anacreon. As the reader turns to chapter forty-six, still waiting for Roderick's fortune hunting career, he cannot miss the concluding suggestion of an artistic diversion.

As would be expected with its greater length, there is more digressive material in Peregrine Pickle. The discourses are more expansive and more argumentative; there is a greater diversity of subjects. There are more than twice as many letters, maxims, and poems than in Roderick Random. The point, however, is not so much the presence or the quantity of digressive material -- that, it seems to me, is self-evident -- but that the use of the material reveals the author's willingness to appear "artistic" more than "imitative of life." Consider Smollett's insertion of Peregrine's entire love poem to Emilia in chapter eighteen. Peregrine is caught, at this stage of his story, between the demand of Commodore Trunnion to detach himself from "the pursuit of an idle amour" and the demand of his heart to love amiable Emilia. One would expect the hero to communicate with his love. It is unlikely, however, that anyone besides Emilia, Peregrine, or perhaps the messenger Pipes would know the nature of such communication. Never-

theless, the entire love poem of four four-line stanzas is reproduced for the reader. Clearly the narrator's omniscience is showing. That verisimilitude is secondary to the "artistic" bent inherent in digression is substantiated further by the narrator's audacity to judge the poem as literarily "juvenile" and to inform us that the letter to Emilia was a "very tender billet" (I. xviii. 160).

Although shorter than either of the first two works, Ferdinand Count Fathom provides ample evidence of a digressive habit. There are approximately eight major discourses inserted into the stories of Ferdinand and Renaldo; there are quotations from writers such as Butler and Shakespeare; there are more than a dozen letters. Ferdinand Count Fathom provides an example of a letter as digressive material which breaks into the story and displays "artistic" elaboration. In the twenty-third chapter a one hundred ninety-nine word letter from Pepin Clothaire Charle Henri Louis Barnabe de Fumier to a German and an Englishman is reproduced fully. At this juncture of the plot Ferdinand is involved enthusiastically in his scheme to appear in Paris as a private gentleman with qualifications. Ferdinand is connected only tangentially with the conflict between the German and the Englishman; the abbe's presence, let alone his letter, would outrage one seeking novelistic unity or continuity. The abbe had been a mere bystander injured during an earlier melee in

a "temple of love." His letter (and the subsequent events) is detached almost totally from Ferdinand's story and schemes. It is, however, not detached from Ferdinand Count Fathom as a whole. The abbe's convoluted and stilted letter represents another exhibition of Smollett's "artistic" bent. In light of the ludicrous style ("I have the honour to lament the infinite chagrin and mortification that compels me to. . . ." [I. xxiii.171]), the sexual innuendo (the injured nose which rendered him incapable of keeping three or four assignations), and the dramatic irony (only the reader seems to note the conflict between the abbe as part of the church and as a customer in a house of prostitution), there seems little doubt of Smollett's conscious comic and satiric intent. The letter provides an excellent device for leaving the confines of a character's story to explore and satirize and elaborate upon another aspect of man and his foibles. As a convention of romance structure, the letter signals an "artistic" venture into embellishment, elaboration, and therefore "Creation's ample range."

Extended discourses in Sir Launcelot Greaves are limited to the hero's substantial examinations of knight-errantry (Chapters ii and vii), his debate with Ferret over politics (Chapter ii), his definition of madness (Chapter xi), and Captain Crowe's shorter description of prison as a microcosm of the world (Chapter xx). There

are also three letters and a number of quotations inserted into the compact romance plot. The quotations are excerpts from Ariosto (p. 197), Shakespeare (p. 247), and Horace (p. 311).

In Humphry Clinker, discourse, debates, and extended conversations are the rule rather than the exception. Everyone (but mostly Matthew, Jerry, and later Lishmahago) has something to describe, argue, or expound about. Odors, medical studies, geography, architecture, politics, literature, nationalities, and life styles are among the innumerable topics examined to some length. With each day in each new area with new personalities, the characters flavor their letters with new observations and speculations. Although not as abundant, letters, maxims, quotations, and poems are also evident. For example, Matthew recites to Dr. Lewis Ralph Barton's entire billet explaining a misunderstood proposal (I. 217); difficilis, querulus laudator temporis acti; or. . . the impetuous pursuits and avocations of youth have formerly hindered me from observing those rotten parts of human nature (I. 162); and Smollett's entire "Ode to Leven Water" (II. 109). Jerry often inserts quotations into his letters to Sir Watkin Phillips from such sources as The Faerie Queene (II. 33) and the Aeneid (I. 153).

With Humphry Clinker Smollett's use of digressions is not as conventional as in the earlier works. There are

so many that it seems as if the plot is the intruder, the interruptor, and the distractor. The letter writers seem to be doing less selecting and shaping than Smollett's previous narrators. One senses an increasing presence of unstructured experience as the quantity of letters, maxims, and poems diminishes and the distinctions between digression and extended exposition become less and less clear.

Smollett's use of the romance's second major structural convention -- the interpolation -- is consistent and even. Like the digression, the interpolation represents Smollett's willingness to relinquish verisimilitude for the opportunity for elaboration and embellishment. Each work contains narrative insertions which break in on the main story to interrupt, complicate, and retard its flow. These interpolations are only tenuously connected, if not totally detached, from the main story. In a novel this interruption would be an unforgivable flaw, but in romance it is traditional as it seeks to imitate the diversity and variety of "Creation's ample range." Like with the digression, the interpolation indicates Smollett's artistic control and makes evident not only the shaping of a designed artifact but also Smollett's willingness to exhibit the shaping conspicuously.

The elaboration and embellishment afforded by interpolation appears in two forms in Smollett's fiction. One form is the entirely distinct story where new characters

are brought in in complete isolation to interrupt the main flow of the narrative. Each work contains a number of these,⁴⁷ but let us examine Melopoy'n's story in Roderick Random (III. lxii-lxiii) as an example. With a little more than six chapters to go, Smollett has Roderick in desperate straits. Narcissa has been rushed away; Roderick has been arrested and imprisoned for debt. Roderick has hit bottom, is totally distraught, and is at a crucial point in his story. Rather than immediately pursuing Roderick's fate, chapter sixty-two introduces the dramatist Melopoy'n to Roderick at breakfast in prison. Before one knows it, Roderick blithely ignores his situation, agrees to read Melopoy'n's tragedy, and express "a desire of hearing how he [Melopoy'n] had been treated by the managers of the playhouses" (III. lxii. 167). It is thirty pages and two chapters before the reader returns to Roderick's story. In romance Order in Variety, this is not a flaw. While structuring a conventional plot where the outcome is known, the principle of Order in Variety directs attention to elaboration and embellishment, to diversity and variety which imitates "Creation's ample range," and to how the story is told. That this principle shapes Roderick's story more than the desire for a flowing novelistic continuity is apparent in Smollett's handling of this interpolation. Just before Roderick calls for Melopoy'n's story, he details a literary analysis of the dramatist's tragedy. The

investigation of its artistry touches upon, among other things, the unities and embellishment which are considered satisfactory in light of Horace and Aristotle. Melopoyne prefaces his narration with his apology that "There is so little entertaining in the incidents of my life . . . that I am sure the recital will not recompense your attention" (III. lxii. 167). After the story's conclusion, Roderick informs us: "I shall not make any reflections on this story, in the course of which the reader must perceive how egregiously the simplicity and milky disposition of this worthy man had been duped and abused. . . ." (III. lxiv. 196). Clearly the critical comments, the prefatory remark, and the concluding summary indicate an emphasis by Smollett on the handling and shaping of this interpolation in particular and of Roderick Random in general.

The second form of elaboration and embellishment afforded by interpolation includes those stories or life histories by characters more closely tied to or involved in the main action. These inserted narratives may comment indirectly on or provide some peripheral background to the plot. They are told by characters, although minor, who take some part in the hero's and heroine's story. Their stories at best provide incidental elaboration and embellishment. They exceed the scope of normal exposition as Smollett takes the stories much further back and offers much more detail than is required. They seem to interrupt and

to retard more than contribute to the main plot's progress. Rarely does one of these interpolations prove crucial to the progress or success of the quest.⁴⁸ On the contrary, as with the other interpolations, they represent a means to imitate God's diverse and various world and to draw attention to the artistry of a designed artifact.

The History of the Noble Castilian in Ferdinand Count Fathom is just such an interpolation. The noble castilian is Don Diego de Zelos who later turns out to be Monimia's father. At this stage of the plot, however, he is merely another victim of Ferdinand's schemes who pours out a twenty-six page account of his life (I. xxvi. 192-218). Perhaps one might argue that the recitation explains why Don Diego needs to trust someone with the jewels. In that case, such a detailed account seems hardly necessary. Why would a full life story in the most graphic particulars be required? To establish a driving need for vindication, revenge, and peace of mind, why must one know of Don Diego's courtship, military career, and domestic life? Such elaboration and embellishment are not essential to mark another step in Ferdinand's unscrupulous career. One need only know for the sake of plot that Don Diego is a poor man suffering some grievous affliction and that, despite his forlorn circumstances, he represents but another pitiful target for Ferdinand's evil deeds. With the History of the Noble Castilian, as with all of his interpolations,

Smollett interrupts the main flow of narrative to exercise the artistic prerogatives of Order in Variety -- to break in and to control, to concentrate on his capacity to control, and to embellish and elaborate a work as to imitate with the richness and fullness of a Don Diego's story the glory of God's infinitely diverse and various world.

As in the seventeenth-century romances and their predecessors, the ample range provided by digressions and interpolations in Smollett's fiction is unified through conscious and conspicuous rhetorical display and authorial design. Smollett himself emphasizes his mediation and control. The dedication to Ferdinand Count Fathom not only professes a familiar concept of romance structure but also reaffirms a traditional authorial pose. Giving "some previous intimation of the plan" which he has executed, the author describes his subsequent performance as "a large diffused picture, comprehending the characters of life, disposed in different groups, and exhibited in various attitudes, for the purposes of an uniform plan, and general occurrence, to which every individual figure is subservient" (I. Prefatory address, 3). This statement simply reiterates Smollett's desire for the "variety of invention" and the "ample field" in his fiction that he had written about in the preface to Roderick Random. However in Ferdinand Count Fathom's dedication, Smollett is more explicit about a purposeful order to the variety, and it is unmistakable

that the order is to emanate from the author himself.

The focus on authorial mediation and control is hardly restricted to dedications and prefaces by the author. The narrators in each work unflaggingly direct the reader's attention away from events and characters to the way the narrator is handling them. It is rare when the reader is allowed to forget the constant presence of mediation between himself and the plot. Attention to authorial artistry is conspicuous and unrelenting throughout the works.

To document conveniently the conscious attention to rhetorical and authorial artistry in Smollett, I shall examine the fiction in three groups: Roderick Random with its first person point of view; Peregrine Pickle, Ferdinand Count Fathom, and Sir Launcelot Greaves with their omniscient point of view; and Humphry Clinker with its multiple first person (epistolary) point of view. Each work, it seems to me, exhibits the conventions of romance structure which achieve order through the author's overtly stated artistry. Each incorporates conspicuous intimacy between the narrator and the reader, obvious editorial shaping, transparent strategies for storytelling, and pronounced authorial self-consciousness.

Smollett has Roderick tell his own story. From a first person point of view, the title character in Roderick Random seemingly narrates his own memoirs. The first person narration is done retrospectively by the cen-

tral participant in the recorded action. The action includes apparently everything in the hero's life from his birth to his marriage. There is, however, little chance that this work could be mistaken for an authentic autobiography or history. While describing himself as the major participant in the action, Roderick obviously enjoys the privileges of hindsight. He conspicuously displays himself as an artistic force throughout the narrative. This display relies heavily upon using and accentuating conventions of romance structure.

Roderick establishes and maintains an intimacy with his reader. Repeatedly he interrupts his narrative to address the reader directly. For instance, during the recitation of his conquests while at the university, our narrator-hero calls upon the reader: "The reader will easily perceive that this condescension either flowed from the hope of making my poetical capacity subservient to their malice, or, at least, of screening themselves from the lash of my resentment. . ." (I. vi. 38-39). Another instance of this narrator-reader intimacy occurs as Roderick examines the attack on Boca Chica: "And, that the reader may know it was not a common occasion that alarmed us thus, I must inform him of the particulars of this dreadful din that astounded us" (II. xxxii. 107). Even as Roderick moves his adventures to their inevitable conclusion, he insists upon his reader's continued awareness

of the narrator: "I shall not make any reflections on this story [Melopoy'n's], in the course of which the reader must perceive how egregiously the simplicity and milky disposition of this worthy man had been duped and abused by a set of scoundrels . . ." (III. lxiv. 196).

Roderick as narrator is also a conspicuous editor. Time after time he interjects himself into the narrative thread to delete or add details or to subordinate or emphasize information. Again, the point is not that a storyteller edits but that, as is customary in romance, the editing receives so much attention. For instance, while on the Thunder, even Roderick's cast iron stomach is unable to handle an extensive description of his patients, but he cannot resist informing the reader that he has omitted graphic details: "It would be tedious and disagreeable to describe the fate of every miserable object that suffered by the inhumanity and ignorance. . ." (II. xxvii. 69). The addition of descriptive material is equally emphasized. Consider Roderick's attention to his transmutation (with Strap's assistance) from impoverished French soldier to a "gentleman of figure": "Here I had time to reflect and congratulate myself upon this sudden transition of fate, which, to bear with moderation, required some degree of philosophy and self-denial. This truth will be more obvious, if I give a detail of the particulars, to the quiet possession of which I was raised in an instant,

from the most abject misery and contempt" (II. xlv. 231). Transports of emotion even fail to dampen the hero-narrator's enthusiasm for editing and therefore the display of authorial design. For example, Captain Bowling's present of one thousand pounds (which in fact frees Roderick from debt, prison, and despair) elicits an editorial summary which is surprisingly muted and detached: "Without troubling the reader with an account of the effect which this surprising generosity had upon my mind, I shall only say, that his [Bowling's] promises were instantly performed, and an invoice of merchandise proper for the voyage presented to me . . ." (III. lxiv. 203). The narrator seems more enthusiastic about a succinct summary than the effect of the gift.

Roderick also focuses upon a conscious display of himself as author by highlighting his role in the storytelling. Foreshadowing is commonly used and emphasized. For example, chapter one concludes with a mild appetizer: "How I understood the particulars of my birth, will appear in the course of these memoirs" (I. l. 7). Narrative shifts also draw attention to artistic ordering. Phrases such as "Before I relate the occasion of this message, I believe it will not be disagreeable to the reader" (I. vii. 48), "But to return to my narration" (II. xxxiii. 115), "But, to return to my unfortunate story" (II. xxii. 7), and "Pray forgive this long digression" (III. lxiii. 193) are

numerous. Roderick also calls attention to the plot summaries or resumes that he uses to expedite narration of his story. Usually he either merely indicates to the reader that he has done some summarizing ("I recounted the most material circumstances of my fortune . . ." [III. lxvii. 227]) or in fact gives an actual resume ("We traveled in this manner five days, without interruption, or meeting anything worth notice: Miss Jenny, . . ." [I. xii. 107]). In either case, the summary or resume is normally by design very visible.

Finally Roderick is an extremely self-conscious narrator. The title character is without a doubt confident about his subject matter and his perception of it. He continually interrupts his story's movement to comment upon or evaluate the action. The customary interruption is a melancholy reflection ("Thus I found myself, by the iniquity of mankind, in a much more deplorable condition than ever: . . ." [I. xx. 217]) or an ecstatic jubilation ("No anchorite in the ecstasy of devotion ever adored a relique with more than that with which I kissed this inimitable proof of my charmer's candour, generosity, and affection!" [III. lvii. 122]). He is apparently not as confident about his writing ability. Roderick begins the dictation of a speech with the disclaimer "as near as I can remember" (II. xxx. 90). Rather than directly name a culprit responsible for the military defeat at Dettingen,

he side steps the issue by claiming "it is not my province to relate" (II. xlv. 219) and cites hearsay evidence: ". . . I heard an old officer, in conversation with another, express a surprise at the conduct of Lord Stair. . ." (II. xlv. 219). As well as charging a faulty memory or insufficient jurisdiction, Roderick often apologizes for his "inability to do justice to affecting circumstances" (III. lxv. 213), his encroachment upon the reader's patience (III. lxv. 212), and his injuries to the delicacy of sentiments (III. lxvii. 232). Perhaps the most common expression of artistic self-consciousness resembles Roderick's aside in the midst of exclamatory effusion: "I am tempted to commit my paper to the flames, and to renounce my pen for ever, because its most ardent and lucky expression so poorly describes the emotions of my soul" (III. lxvii. 243).

But write he does. Whatever other reason Smollett may have had for having Roderick exhibit this artistic self-consciousness (it seems rather out of character), it makes apparent the conscious and conspicuous attention paid to rhetorical display and authorial design in Roderick Random. It reminds the reader of the concern for unity, order, and form in the fiction. The work is not an empirical reproduction of experience and "life"; it is a traditional and conventional narrative form which focuses on the fictive values of "pattern."

In Peregrine Pickle, Ferdinand Count Fathom, and Sir Launcelot Greaves, Smollett turns to an omniscient point of view. The narrator in each work assumes the guise of a detached observer committed to transmitting to posterity the remarkable adventures of their respective heroes. Not involved as participants in the actual events, each narrator can play a greater role as observer-editor-author than can Roderick Random, for each is unencumbered with the role of title character or hero. Each can intrude, delay, and divert at will without the danger of confusing the roles of main character and narrator. One result is that each enjoys greater latitude and more opportunities for conscious and conspicuous attention to rhetorical display and authorial design.

The pattern, however, remains essentially the same. Throughout the narration of their respective plots, the main character's story is intruded upon by the storyteller. Since the storyteller is an "historian," it follows that greater emphasis would seem to be placed upon observation, evaluation, and commentary by the narrator. The narrator of Peregrine Pickle, for example, makes a habit of reflecting upon his subject's character. When Peregrine arrives in London, the narrator reflects:

Sorry I am, that the task I have undertaken, lays me under the necessity of divulging this degeneracy in the sentiments of our imperious youth, who was now in the heyday of his blood, flushed with the consciousness of his own qualifications,

vain of his fortune, and elated on the wings
of imaginary expectation. (II. lxvi. 270)

Ferdinand and Sir Launcelot receive the same consideration. Concerning Ferdinand's character, his historian writes "the reader may have observed, that Fathom, with all his circumspection, had a weak side, which exposed him to sundry mischances; this was his covetousness, which on some occasions became too hard for his discretion" (I. xxxvii. 299); Launcelot's treatment of Mrs. Oakley elicits the comment that "the success of our adventurer, which we have particularised in the last chapter, could not fail of enhancing his character. . ." (xiii. 169).

There is no less attention paid to the intimacy between narrator and reader, to editing, to the strategies of storytelling, and to the narrators' self-consciousness. The narrative point of view may have changed, but the emphasis upon artistry is constant. Each narrator seems to take every available occasion to bring the reader into his confidence. In Peregrine Pickle, close narrator-reader ties are maintained until the last chapter of volume four when the narrator releases the reader: "I shall leave the sensible reader to judge what passed at this juncture within the bosoms of the new-married couple" (IV. "Chapter the Last." 328). Ferdinand Count Fathom's narrator likewise assumes the reader's participation and makes this expectation known early. He concludes the work's third paragraph

with "by the time the reader shall have glanced over the subsequent sheets, I doubt not but he will bless God that the adventurer was not his own historian" (I. i. 6). In Sir Launcelot Greaves, the intimacy between narrator and reader is perhaps the most familiar of the three. The first chapter, for instance, ends with

But as a personage of great importance in this entertaining history was forced to remain some time at the door before he could gain admittance, so must the reader wait with patience for the next chapter, in which he will see the cause of this disturbance explained much to his comfort and edification. . (i. 11)

This sort of treatment assuredly is reserved for the best of friends.

Each narrator is also very explicit in identifying his role as editor. One welcomes in Peregrine Pickle such statements as "I shall omit the description of the rejoicings, . . ." (I. vi. 45), or "It would be an endless task to recount every individual response. . . " (IV. lxxxiii. 301) and ruefully admits that the narrator often makes "shift to explain the whole transaction to the reader" (II. lv. 173). The narrator in Ferdinand Count Fathom is also not bashful about taking credit for his editing. On one occasion he declines to describe a tablecloth "for the sake of. . . [his] delicate readers" (II. xl. 13); on another occasion he informs us that "we may neglect no opportunity of doing justice to our hero" (I. vii. 43) and then inserts a list of the hero's quali-

ties. In the shortest work, Sir Launcelot Greaves, one would assume the narrator would have fewer opportunities to demonstrate his editorial presence, but the occasion often arises. The reader is reminded frequently that he has already been informed of certain things (" . . . she informed him of those particulars which we have already communicated to our reader" [xv. 203]), and therefore need not waste time going back over them. The narrator's sense of fictional priorities appears to also be of interest. He tells us: "We shall not dwell upon this tender scene [Mrs. Oakley's reunion with her son] because it is but of a secondary concern in the history of our knight-errant. Let it suffice to say. . . ." (xii. 167).

All three works in the omniscient point of view group exhibit narrators highlighting devices such as foreshadowing, plot shifts, and plot summaries. As with their seventeenth-century and earlier predecessors, the foreshadowing is more rhetorical than functional. Whether in Peregrine Pickle ("This scheme, . . . would have succeeded according to his wish, had the election taken place immediately; but, before that happened, his interest was overbalanced by some small accidents that will be recorded in the sequel" [IV. lxxvi. 16]), Ferdinand Count Fathom ("He found her in the attitude of writing a letter to her inconstant lover, the contents of which the reader will be acquainted with in due time" [II. xlviii. 89]), or Sir

Launcelot Greaves ("The circumstances of the disorder under which she was said to labour shall be revealed in due course" [viii. 112]), the resulting suspense or impetus for narrative continuation is negligible if not superfluous. However, it is another matter if they are seen as manifestations of artistic presence.

For a novelist the plot shifts in Peregrine Pickle ("But, waiving these reflections, let us return to Peregrine. . ." [I. xx. 169]), Ferdinand Count Fathom ("But let us return from this comparison, which some readers may think impertinent and unseasonable, and observe, . . ." [I. xxii. 158]), and Sir Launcelot Greaves ("We must now leave Captain Crowe and his nephew. . . Know then, reader, that Sir Launcelot Greaves, . . . was accosted. . . ." [xxiii. 304]) would appear clumsy and needless. But for Smollett the number and length of these shifts suggest an emphasis apparent in seventeenth-century romances. Smooth, imperceptible transition is simply not as crucial as is the awareness of what is being done and of who is doing it.

The historian-narrators are remarkably similar in their self-consciousness of what they are doing. Each apologizes again and again for his theoretical deficiencies or limitations. Peregrine Pickle's narrator, for instance, regrets his failure to learn what passed in an interview (I. ii. 22) and is upset that he cannot adequately describe a character's rage (II. lvii. 189). Ferdinand Count

Fathom's narrator on one occasion is so upset about what he has to write that he flies off in a rage: "Perfidious wretch! thy crimes turn out so atrocious, that I half repent me of having undertaken to record thy memoirs; yet such monsters ought to be exhibited to public view. . . ." (II. xlix. 107-108). In Sir Launcelot Greaves the foremost concern expressed is the inability to adequately describe the joys, raptures, and emotions continually evident (xxiv. 328; "The Last," 339).

With the 1771 publication of Humphry Clinker, Smollett turned to his third and last point of view -- the "epistolary" form with multiple first person narration. Five characters through private correspondence with five different persons relate essentially five distinct apprehensions of practically the same experiences. Each correspondent writes with his own style and from his own perception of what has happened. Each writes as if the event depicted or the opinion expressed has just taken place or has just been formulated. Their letters suggest, above all, circumstantiality, and seem firmly ensconced in the particulars of time and place. As a result Smollett's last work reveals a significant change from both perspectives of the earlier fiction. Because of the apparent immediacy between the writing and the event, one senses less narrative distance and less narrative intrusion than with Roderick's retrospection or the historians' observations.

However, despite the multiple points of view and the resulting varieties of immediate human experience, one is always aware while reading Humphry Clinker of the mediation and ordering of artistry. From the opening letters of Jonathan Dustwich and Henry Davis concerning the printing of this private correspondence (I. 1-5) to Matthew Bramble's closing resolution to renounce the sedentary amusement of writing long letters (II. 267), one is seldom far from a reminder that fictive values of "pattern" reign. Evidence of rhetorical display and authorial design is abundant as each correspondent emphasizes his or her own efforts to write. The intimacy between writer and reader is now vicarious; Matthew's addresses to Dr. Lewis, Tabitha's to her staff, Winifred's to Mary Jones, Jerry's to Sir Watkin Phillips, and Lydia's to Miss Laetitia Willis replace the narrators' direct addresses to the reader in the previous fiction. But the editing, the narrative strategies, the commentary, and the self-consciousness associated with an emphasis upon conscious and conspicuous artistry is as conventionally and pervasively present as in Smollett's earlier works and as in earlier romances. The letters contain repeated references to the writing, reading, delivery, and nature of the letters. Clearly the writer is an author in control. He or she edits ("But, lest you think my scribble as tedious as Mrs. Tabby's clack, I shall not add another word. . ." [I. 80] or "Nothing worth mentioning

occurred, till we . . ." [I. 119]), foreshadows ("The particulars of the denouement you shall know in due season." [I. 214] or "The particulars of our journey you shall have in my next, . . ." [I. 113]), makes narrative shifts ("But, to return from one humorist to another" [II. 7] or "But, to return from this digression, . . ." [I. 249]), and summarizes ("In short, . . ." [I. 133] or "in my last I told you. . ." [I. 88]). Matthew Bramble and his fellow correspondents also expend energies commenting upon and evaluating what they are writing. But their self-consciousness is most apparent. Matthew and Jerry are most anxious that their letters be either entertaining or instructive (I. 108; I. 187). All are sensitive to their readers' patience: on April 24, Jerry is doubtful that any amusement will "compensate the trouble of reading these tedious insipid letters" (I. 48); on April 26 Lydia concludes with "But I am afraid I have put you out of all patience with this long unconnected scrawl" (I. 62); on May 5 Matthew closes with "But I feel the spleen creeping on me apace, and therefore will indulge you with a cessation, that you may have no unnecessary cause to curse your correspondence. . ." (I. 86). They also habitually refer to their writing as an identifiable artifact. The letters are "observations" (I. 135), "memoirs" (I. 207); "a whole sheet" (I. 153), "idle speculation" (I. 154), "detached journals" (II. 101), "long winded epistles" (II. 184), and the "history of this day" (II. 219). How the material

is handled, shaped, and presented seems to be as important to the correspondents as its contents. Sir Watkin Phillips has said as much to Jerry Melford who responds:

I shall grow vain upon your saying you find entertainment in my letters, barren as they certainly are, of incident and importance; because your amusement must arise, not from the matter, but from the manner, which you know is all my own. Animated, therefore, by the approbation of a person whose nice taste and consummate judgment I can no longer doubt, I will cheerfully proceed with our memoirs. (I. 207)

Thus it seems no coincidence that the commonplace of the world as a stage is used to characterize the action in Humphry Clinker. As Tabitha sets her sights on Barton, Jerry opens his June 11 letter with "the farce is finished, and another piece of a graver cast brought upon the stage" (I. 222). And months later as the expedition concludes, he repeats the metaphor: "The comedy is near a close, and the curtain is ready to drop; but the latter scenes of this act I shall recapitulate in order" (II. 259). Most assuredly one needs no further reminder of artistic mediation and control.

From Roderick Random to Humphry Clinker Smollett uses in varying quantities digressions, interpolations, and devices of a self-conscious artistry. He uses them to indicate clearly that artistry is the ultimate aesthetic value of his fiction. Digressions and interpolations are means for embellishment and elaboration. Also important is that they provide an opportunity for the author to display

his willingness to break into the main action, his willingness to follow his "artistic" bent, and his willingness to allow his presence to show. Through devices which emphasize rhetorical display and authorial design, Smollett underscores the author's god-like capacity to select and shape the matter of his work. He directs the reader's attention to how the story is told, how it is embellished, and how it is elaborated. The author discusses his limits and shortcomings with the reader; he involves the reader in the process of writing. Clearly the stress in Smollett's narratives is to consider his works as designed artifacts imitative of God's infinitely diverse and various universe, of an idealized ordered universe. Rather than a novelistic imitation of life insisting on strict verisimilitude and organic unity, the more obvious and the more controlled design of Smollett's fiction reflects the principle of Order in Variety which informs conventional romance structure.

III. SMOLLETT'S WORLD VIEW

The significant presence of conventional romance plot and structural elements in Smollett's fiction augurs well for the possibility that it shares another common ground with the traditional romance -- an imagined world imitative and emblematic of a providentially ordered universe. Indeed, there is considerable evidence that Smol-

lett presented in his fiction a pattern of order, a providential design, and a providential justice characteristic of a coherent Christian vision of life.

The already documented conventions of romance plot and structure in each of Smollett's works affirm the informing presence of a coherent Christian world view. The fortuitous mishaps, the startling coincidences, and the improbable encounters repeatedly suggest providential intervention. Each fortuitous mishap, startling coincidence, and improbable encounter seems to have a crucial effect upon the plot and the characters' lives. More often than not such events contribute directly to the stories' complication, resolution, and subsequent movement to order. As in the seventeenth-century and earlier romances, these fortuitous, startling, and improbable events in Smollett's fiction reflect "the conception of a Providence that intervened, though usually by natural means and agents, in human affairs."⁴⁹

Further implicit evidence that suggests a coherent Christian world view in Smollett's fiction are the happy endings which are again conventional in romance plots. In each work, with the aid of a series of mishaps, coincidences, and improbabilities, the virtuous characters come out on top. Roderick discovers his father, becomes rich, retains his estate, and marries Narcissa. Peregrine becomes rich, regains his inheritance, and marries Emilia.

Renaldo reclaims his birthrights, frees his family, and marries Monimia. Launcelot unifies families, discovers a relative, and marries Aurelia. In Humphry Clinker there are three major weddings, the discovery of a son, the solution of a friend's problems, and the coming to health. Nor is it only the major figures who enjoy the fruits of virtue. For their assistance and individual merits such characters as Strap, Miss Williams, Farrell, Don Diego, Crowe, and Dolly also reap the benefits of wedded bliss, better employment, estate restoration, and financial profit. Conversely the major or minor miscreants suffer just punishments for their vices. Again, through a series of mishaps, coincidences, and improbabilities, characters such as Crab, Melinda, Mrs. Pickle, Gam, Ferdinand Count Fathom, Ratchcali, Anthony Darnel, Squire Sycamore, and Mrs. Baynard undergo a variety of inflictions such as sudden death, lengthy imprisonment, financial ruin, and social ostracism, all proving that crime and vice do not pay. These happy endings, with their appropriate distribution of rewards and punishment, indicates, I believe, an endorsement in Smollett's fiction of the concept of poetic justice and of the providential world view which underlies it.

As documented in the second section of this chapter, the conventions of romance structure are evident in the fiction of Smollett. The presence of these conventions implicitly represents in Smollett, as it did in the romance

tradition, a prevailing Christian world view. With its endorsement of the fictive values of "pattern" and its demands for aesthetic control, Smollett's fiction embodies the Christian conception of cosmic and social order. Emphasizing Order in *Variety*, it, like the order of the universe, is regular as well as full and various, skillfully contrived and patterned in spite of its diversity, abundance, and seeming contingency. Furthermore, with the emphasis upon the storyteller and his art in each of the works, one is reminded again of the commonplace of God's involvement in the affairs of his creation. In short, it seems that Smollett presented, if he did not argue, a structure implicitly analogous to traditional Christian notions of the world order, notions which for three centuries at least had been embodied in the structure of romance.

From Roderick Random to Humphry Clinker, Smollett's works contain not only the implicit suggestions of a theodic universe, but also explicit assertions of providential design, providential intervention, and poetic justice. In the preface to Roderick Random, Smollett announces his design to "represent modest merit struggling with every difficulty to which a friendless orphan is exposed, from his own want of experience, as well as from the selfishness, envy, malice, and base indifference of mankind" (I. The Preface. xxii) and to "animate the reader against the

sordid and vicious disposition of the world" (I. The Preface. xxxii). Smollett is more detailed about his plan for Ferdinand Count Fathom. The prefatory address compares its purpose with those of the English drama:

. . .the same principle by which we rejoice at the remuneration of merit, will teach us to relish the disgrace and discomfiture of vice, which is always an example of extensive use and influence, because it leaves a deep impression of terror upon the minds of those who were not confirmed in the pursuit of morality and virtue, and, while the balance wavers, enables the right scale to preponderate.

(I. Prefatory Address. 3)

Like the seventeenth-century and earlier romances, Smollett proclaims the intentional accomplishment of moral and instructive purposes:

. . . I have, at least, adorned virtue with honour and applause, branded iniquity with reproach and shame, and carefully avoided every hint or expression which could give umbrage to the most delicate reader --

(I. Prefatory Address. 4)

While the prefaces to Roderick Random and to Ferdinand Count Fathom may vary in levels of explicitness, both, it seems to me, pay considerable attention to a general purpose or plan to inculcate morality.

Judging from the repeated explicit acknowledgements of Providence's role throughout all five works, there seems little doubt the moral system sustained by Smollett is Christian. The characters and narrators repeatedly refer to God, Heaven, and Providence. Time and again they "thank Heaven" or "bless God." Expletives such as

"Good Heaven!," "God forbid!" and "For Heaven's sake!" are usual responses to ordinary as well as extraordinary events. In times of stress, characters invoke the assistance of God and heaven ("Lord have mercy" or "if God will grace me") and swear to their faith ("take Heaven to witness," "vowed to Heaven," and "God as witness").

Unlike the twentieth-century penchant for automatic unconscious oaths, the scores of expletives, invocations, and references to God, heaven, and Providence seem more than perfunctory. They signal a conscious Christian world view. From the opening chapter of Roderick Random when Roderick's father "implored that heaven would renounce him, if ever he should forget or forgive the barbarity of his sire [Roderick's grandfather]" (I. i. 6) to the final letter in Humphry Clinker where Winifred Jenkins Loyd attributes her rise in station to "God's blessing" (II. 269), it is clear that a theodic conception of the world informs, in part at least, the imagined worlds of Smollett's fiction.

In Roderick Random, Narcissa laments in a letter that she cannot see her love because of her brother's suspicions. But she is unconcerned because of her hope that Heaven will "contrive some other unforeseen event in our behalf" (III. lx. 153-154). Narcissa is not alone in her expression of faith in providential intervention. Strap (I. xvi. 152), Morgan (II. xxix. 86), and Roderick

(III. lxvii. 244) are among the many who repeatedly attest to Providence's work in man's affairs. Providence's work in Roderick Random is expressly designated in terms of protection, testing, and poetic justice. Roderick directly attributes to Providence the rescue of Narcissa's innocence and beauty from Sir Timothy Thicket's rude behavior: "But Heaven would not suffer so much goodness to be violated; and sent me, who, passing by accident near the place, was alarmed with her cries, to her succour" (II. xli. 187). It is Strap who is appalled at Roderick's repining at Providence. Strap reminds his master of God's testing of man on earth:

"God of his infinite mercy enable you to withstand that temptation of the devil! Consider your immortal soul -- there is no repentance in the grave. O Lord! that ever we should come to this. -- Are we not enjoined to resign ourselves to the will of Heaven! -- where is your patience?" (III.lx. 152)

Later Don Rodrigo acquaints his son with the fruits of this testing:

". . . when my detail was ended, blessed God for the adversity I had undergone, which, he said enlarged the understanding, improved the heart, steeled the constitution, and qualified a young man for all the duties and enjoyments of life, much better than any education which affluence could bestow."

(III. lxvi. 227)

And finally, Roderick himself reacts to his good fortune by acknowledging that his "great and unexpected stroke of fate seemed to have been brought about by the immediate

direction of Providence" (III. lxvii. 244).

In Peregrine Pickle, the repeated acknowledgments of providential influence are as explicit and as expansive as in Smollett's first work. Whether it is the storm of Mrs. Pickle's frenzy (I. xxxi. 271), the threat of political revolt (II. xliii. 79), or the aims of unbridled lust (II. lv. 173), each potential victim ascribes his or her rescue to the "immediate interposition of Heaven." Even the "historical" narrator credits Providence with fortuitous accidents. For example, the possibilities of obstinacy subduing the love between Peregrine and Emilia is described as being "providentially prevented" (IV. ciii. 303) by the arrival of a letter informing Peregrine of his father's death. The phrasing of the letter by Charles Clover is significant: "It hath pleased God to take your father suddenly this unexpected dispensation of Providence" (IV. ciii. 303). Clearly Clover sees, and expects others to see, the event as a manifestation of the judgment of God. Smollett is not unlike Clover with his explicit statement of providential intervention and justice in Peregrine Pickle. There are dozens of statements of providential intervention and justice in Peregrine Pickle. There are dozens of statements ratifying the vengeance (II. xlvi. 103; II. liii. 160; II. lviii. 203), the blessing (II. liv. 171; IV. lxxxvi. 12; IV. ci. 285), the work (I. xxxi. 271; II. lii. 157; IV. lxxxix. 53), and the

control (I. vii. 56; II. xliii. 79; IV. xc. 72) of a Providential God.

Ferdinand Count Fathom provides remarkable documentation of a fictive world emblematic of a providentially ordered universe. Major and minor character alike pour out near-treatises concerning heaven's function in their affairs. Captain Minikin, during Ferdinand's first stay in prison, makes a familiar comparison: ". . . for this place, sir, is quite a microcosm, and as the great world, so is this, a stage, and all the men and women merely players" (II. xxxix. 4). The narrator repeats familiar intentions as he sketches his plan:

. . . yet such monsters ought to be exhibited to public view, that mankind may be upon their guard against imposture; that the world may see how fraud is apt to overshoot itself; and that, as virtue, though it may suffer for a while, will triumph in the end; so iniquity, though it may prosper for a season, will at last be overtaken by that punishment and disgrace which are its due.

(II. xlix. 108)

The virtuous Madame Clement ascribes her benevolence and generosity toward the suffering Monimia to a familiar source: ". . . fair creature, Heaven hath bestowed upon me an heart to compassionate, and power, I hope, to lighten the burden of your sorrows" (II. xlix. 103). In contrast, Ferdinand, as a monster, also knows well the source of his punishment:

"Shall the author of these crimes pass with impunity? Shall he hope to prosper in the midst of such enormous guilt? It were an imputation upon Providence to suppose it! Ah, no! I begin to feel myself overtaken by the eternal justice

of Heaven! I totter on the edge of wretchedness and woe, without one friendly hand to save me from the terrible abyss!"

(II. lvi. 172)

The good and the bad do not always enjoy or suffer according to what they deserve. However, Don Diego accounts for that with a familiar concept:

"Enjoy, my children, the happy fruits of your reciprocal attachment. May Heaven, which hath graciously conducted you through a labyrinth of perplexity and woe, to this transporting view of blissful days, indulge you with that uninterrupted stream of pure felicity, which is the hope and ought to be the boon of virtue, such as yours!" (II. lxiv. 267-268)

As Renaldo sees Ferdinand as made by Heaven "the involuntary instrument for bringing our constancy and virtue to the test" (II. lxv. 279), so Don Diego perceives his world "concerted by [a] supernatural prescience" (II. lxvii. 310) that intervenes, protects, tests, and recompenses.

The evidence in Sir Launcelot Greaves consistently supports the now customary pattern of repeated acknowledgments of a theodic universe. From Mrs. Darnel's insistence to Launcelot that "sure it was Heaven that sent you as an angel to our [Mrs. Darnel's and Aurelia's] assistance" (iv. 51) to the narrator's description of Aurelia's and Launcelot's "Heaven-directed union" ("Last." 340), one reads what seems like a comprehensive tract on Providence. On her deathbed, Mrs. Darnel entreats Aurelia "to resign herself submissively to the will of Heaven" (iv. 53) and asks Launcelot to leave the fulfillment of his love

for Aurelia to "the dispensation of Providence" (iv. 54). As the book moves to its happy conclusion, Launcelot remarks about the wisdom of Aurelia's mother:

"Was it not Providence that sent me hither to guard and protect the injured Aurelia? . . . Yes, divine creature! Heaven, careful of your safety, and in compassion to my sufferings, hath guided me hither, in this mysterious manner, that I might defend you from violence, and enjoy this transition from madness to deliberation, from despair to felicity." (xv. 203)

He, as do Aurelia, Mr. Clarke, and the narrator, recognizes the importance of Providence: "' . . . without the help of Heaven, indeed, we are all vanity, imbecility, weakness, and wretchedness, . . .'" (xiii. 171); the power of Providence: "' . . . doubt not Providence will provide . . .'" (iv. 61); and the judgment of Providence: "' . . . Mr. Darnel's fate is a just judgment of God upon him for his cruelty to that excellent person [Miss Darnel]'" (xxiv. 329).

In Smollett's last work, the providential world view is not as pervasively emphasized as in the four previous works. Let there be no mistake, Humphry Clinker contains substantial expression of the Christian world view. In her second letter, Lydia rests her hopes upon a familiar power: "' . . . -- let us trust to time and the chapter of accidents; or rather to that Providence which will not fail, sooner or later, to reward those that walk in the paths of honour and virtue" (I. 14). And Lydia is not

alone in her expression of faith in divine intervention and poetic justice. Winifred Jenkins attributes the hiring of Humphry Clinker to "God's providence" (I. 163); Humphry submits to imprisonment by ejaculating "'the Lord's will be done! if it be my fate to suffer, I hope I shall not disgrace the faith of which, though unworthy, I make profession'" (I. 225); Tabitha Bramble warns Mrs. Gwyllim "you must render account, not only to your earthly master, but also to him that is above; and if you are found a good and faithful sarvant, great will be your reward in haven" (I. 237).

But, as with Tabitha's somewhat distorted invocation of poetic justice (it seems to me that her intent is primarily earthly profit and that she is not above a little providential blackmail to accomplish her ends), it seems that the theodic world view is not as consistently important nor as explicitly essential to all of the characters of Humphry Clinker. In fact, Lydia Melford, Winifred Jenkins, and Humphry Clinker bear most of the responsibility for acknowledging the providential order in more than a cursory manner, and all three are somewhat suspect as narrators who might coincide with the author's ideas and values. Most assuredly the characters, closer to Smollett, acknowledge a theodic world view. Matthew Bramble, for instance, describes Mr. Grieve as "a primitive Christian" and his saving of a count's life from a robber as "a wonderful

interposition" (I. 256-257). Jerry Melford recognizes, in another example, the rescue of Lishmahago as being "providentially relieved by a return post-chaise" (II. 136). But neither seem primarily concerned with the "wise purposes of Providence."

Nevertheless, as Humphry Clinker moves to its conventional romance ending, the idea of a providentially designed world is certainly apparent. Both Humphry and Lydia describe the soon-to-be-discovered son's rescue of Matthew as an act of Providence: "' . . . blessed by his holy name, that made me the humble instrument -- . . .'" (II. 212) and "I should have lost my best friend, my father and protector, but for the resolution and activity of his servant Humphry Clinker, whom Providence really seems to have placed near him for the necessity of this occasion" (II. 242). When Humphry identifies himself as Matthew's son, even Matthew exclaims "O Providence!" (II. 215) and he describes him as one of "those blessings which Heaven bestows" (II. 237). The death of Mrs. Baynard occasions the statement that "Heaven could not have interposed more effectually to rescue him [Baynard] from disgrace and ruin" (II. 251). Even Jerry Melford supposes that Heaven designs marriage partners (II. 263), while Tabitha (II. 267) and Winifred (II. 268) are now certain of Heaven's wise purposes in such matters.

Thus, it seems that as the conventions of romance

assert themselves most vigorously, the conventional romance world view is asserted proportionately. Toward the conclusion of Humphry Clinker his exploration of certain novelistic approaches to fiction, in particular empirical observation and the independence of character, ceases, and Smollett returns to the order inherent in the conventional romance ending. Smollett stresses in Humphry Clinker what he had stressed in his other fictions: a theodic world view which asserts providential design, providential intervention, and poetic justice.

In Smollett the perception of characters and of life includes the imitation and exhibition of a universe theologically centered and harmoniously ordered. Along with the perceptions appropriate for such traditions as the picaresque and satire, it seems to me the fiction of Smollett should be seen to contain implicit and explicit evidence that convincingly documents the informing presence of a Christian world view. From Roderick Random to Humphry Clinker, providential design, providential intervention, and poetic justice in varying degrees of intensity characterize and influence the fiction's plot and structure. It is a world view that endorses an affirmation of order that in turn endorses the fictive values of "pattern." Therefore, taking into consideration the traditional association of a Christian world view and the fictive values of "pattern" with the conventions and inten-

tions of romance, it seems that the fiction of Tobias Smollett shares yet another highly significant common ground with the romance tradition.

NOTES

¹Robert D. Spector, Tobias Smollett (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1968), p. 13.

²Whether or not the 1755 English translation of Cervantes' masterpiece is a "gem in the realm of fraudulent acts" perpetuated by Smollett, does not alter, it seems to me, my assertion that Smollett was steeped in Don Quixote. In fact, contentions such as Carmine Rocco Linsalata's in Smollett's Hoax: Don Quixote in English (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1956) that Smollett used Jarvis' translation (1742), or the one she rejects, that Smollett was under obligation to a variety of English translators (Shelton, Phillips, Motteux, and Stevens), would only substantiate Smollett's familiarity with Don Quixote.

³Lewis M. Knapp, "Smollett's Translation of Fénelon's Telemaque," PQ, XLIV (1965), 405-5.

⁴The Letters of Tobias Smollett, ed. Lewis M. Knapp (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970). See letters 33, 38, 42, 53, and 66.

⁵All references are to The Works of Tobias Smollett, ed. G. H. Maynadier (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1902). Roderick Random, I. Preface xxx-xxii. This sketch, it seems to me, again suggests why writers sought every other possible label for their works other than romance. Rather than risk being associated with the excesses of "the most absurd pitch of credulity," "the most monstrous hyperboles," and the "ludicrous and unnatural," Smollett disdains the romance label entirely.

⁶John Moore, "A View of the Commencement and Progress of Romance" in The Works of Tobias Smollett, M.D. (London, 1797), I. v-xcv.

⁷Ronald Paulson, Satire and the Novel in Eighteenth-Century England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), pp. 167-180.

⁸Spector, pp. 46-50.

⁹Spector, pp. 48-49.

- ¹⁰Paulson, p. 181.
- ¹¹Paulson, pp. 185-186.
- ¹²Robert Alter, Rogue's Progress (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 58-59.
- ¹³Robert Giddings, The Tradition of Smollett (London: Methuen, 1967), p. 31.
- ¹⁴Spector, p. 67.
- ¹⁵John M. Warner, "Smollett's Development as a Novelist," Novel, V (Winter, 1972), 153.
- ¹⁶George Kahrl, "Smollett as a Caricaturist" in Tobias Smollett: Bicentennial Essays Presented to Lewis M. Knapp, ed. G. S. Rousseau and P. G. Bouce (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 190.
- ¹⁷Giddings, p. 121.
- ¹⁸Spector, p. 89.
- ¹⁹"On Smollett's Language: A Paragraph in Ferdinand Count Fathom," Style in Prose Fiction (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 25.
- ²⁰In Tobias Smollett: Bicentennial Essays, p. 136.
- ²¹Spector, pp. 108-109.
- ²²Spector, p. 125.
- ²³Giddings, p. 128.
- ²⁴"Humphry Clinker as Comic Romance," Papers of The Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, LXVI (1961), in Essays on the Eighteenth-Century Novel, ed. Robert D. Spector (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965), p. 162.
- ²⁵"Humphry Clinker as Comic Romance," pp. 154-164.
- ²⁶B. L. Reid, "Smollett's Healing Journey," Virginia Quarterly Review, XLI (1965), 549-70.
- ²⁷Robert Hopkins, "The Function of Grotesque in Humphry Clinker," The Huntington Library Quarterly, XXXII (1969), 163-177.

- ²⁸Paulson, pp. 194-198.
- ²⁹Paulson, p. 382.
- ³⁰Thomas R. Preston, "Smollett and the Benevolent Mis-anthrope Type," PMLA, LXXIX (1964), 51-57.
- ³¹Hopkins, pp. 163-177.
- ³²David L. Evans, "Humphry Clinker: Smollett's Tempered Augustanism," Criticism, IX (1967), 257-74.
- ³³Paulson, p. 179.
- ³⁴Bruce McCullough, Representative English Novelists (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946), p. 66.
- ³⁵Giddings, p. 35.
- ³⁶Tuvia Bloch, "Smollett's Quest for Form," MP, LXV (1967), 103.
- ³⁷George Kahrl, "Smollett as a Caricaturist" in Tobias Smollett: Bicentennial Essays, p. 190.
- ³⁸David L. Evans, "Peregrine Pickle: The Complete Satirist," Studies in the Novel, III (1971), 258-74.
- ³⁹Lionel Stevenson, The English Novel: A Panorama (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), p. 115.
- ⁴⁰Bloch, p. 108.
- ⁴¹Giddings, pp. 125-126.
- ⁴²Spector, p. 126.
- ⁴³Stevenson, p. 133.
- ⁴⁴Giddings, p. 129.
- ⁴⁵Byron Gassman, "The Economy of Humphry Clinker" in Tobias Smollett: Bicentennial Essays, pp. 155-168.
- ⁴⁶Giddings, p. 148.
- ⁴⁷Instances of wholly independent interpolations are: in Roderick Random, the witch's story (II. xxxviii) and Melopoy'n's story (III. lxii-lxiii); in Peregrine Pickle, Cadwallader's impromptu story of the three black crows (III. lxxxiii. 286-288), the Memoirs of a Prisoner (III. lxxxiii.

184-251), and the story of Count D'Alvarez (IV. xcvi. 252-256); in Ferdinand Count Fathom, the surprising incident of Valentine and Charlotte (II. lxvi); in Sir Launcelot Greaves, the prisoners' stories (Chapter xi) and Captain Clewline's story (Chapter xxi); and in Humphry Clinker the stories of Paunceford and Serle (I. 100-105), of Dick Ivey (I. 176-178), of Captain Brown (II. 130-134), and of Squire Burdock (I. 248-249).

⁴⁸Instances of interpolations about characters more closely tied to the main action are: in Roderick Random, Miss Williams's history (II. xxii-xxiii) and Thomson's story (II. xxxvi); in Peregrine Pickle, Crabtree's life story (III. lxxii. 10-18) and the Lady of Quality's Memoirs (III. lxxx. 92-270); in Ferdinand Count Fathom, the history of the Noble Castilian (I. xxvi), the story of Ratchcali (I. xxxi), and the sequel to Don Diego's history (II. lxii); in Sir Launcelot Greaves, Crowe's adventures as a novice knight (Chapter xvii); and, in Humphry Clinker, the stories of Baynard (II. 165-183) and of Charles Dennison (II. 220-233).

⁴⁹Aubrey L. Williams, "Interpositions of Providence and the Design of Fielding's Novels," South Atlantic Quarterly, LXX (1971), 266-267.

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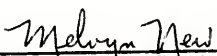
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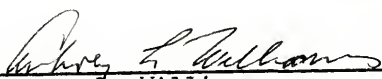
Michael W. Raymond is married to the former Judith Anne Caulfield.

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